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A history of the political  
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late war between the U.S. and  
Great Britain

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**HISTORY**

OF

**THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY EVENTS**

OF

**THE LATE WAR**

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**BETWEEN THE**

**UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN.**

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**BY SAMUEL PERKINS, ESQ.**

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**NEW-HAVEN;**

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## PREFACE.

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CUSTOM has in some measure rendered a preface a necessary part of a book ; it usually contains the author's apology for writing, his exertions, and the difficulties and embarrassments he has encountered in the progress of his work. Waiving these topics, the reader is here presented with a concise view of the subjects of the following pages, that if he feels no interest in them, he may save his time for more valuable purposes. The design of the present volume is, to state in a clear and concise manner—

The points of controversy between the United States and Great Britain, which induced the late war, and the arguments by which each supported their respective claims ;

The great constitutional and national questions to which the war gave rise, and which were discussed and settled during its continuance ;

The debates and proceedings of Congress, on all the important measures connected with the war ;

The circumstances which led to the negotiation for peace, and its progress and result :

And to give a faithful detail of all the important military and naval operations during the war.

That a well executed work, embracing these objects, would be interesting to the public, cannot be doubted. The claims set up by the two great European belligerent powers, to control neutral commerce,

were unprecedented in their nature, alarming in their extent, and destructive in their operation. The grounds on which these claims were made and enforced, and the manner in which they were resisted, are matters of deep interest to the citizens of the United States. In the progress of the war, several great constitutional questions arose, on a correct decision of which the most important interests of the union depended; these were discussed with much ingenuity and force of argument, and the points adhered to, on both sides, with great tenacity.

The naval, and most of the military operations, do high honour to American skill and bravery; and a faithful detail of them ought to be recorded. The writer presents this volume to the public, with great diffidence, and respectfully solicits the patronage of his fellow-citizens: should it prove undeserving their favour, he hopes at least, it will induce some abler hand to do justice to the subject.

It is a delicate task to relate facts while the principal actors are living; misrepresentations or partial statements may sometimes intervene to the prejudice of individuals. If there are any such, they are unintentional; many times they may be apprehended when they do not exist; in those cases it is the fault of the agent and not of the writer:



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## ERRATA

Page	91,	line	16th of note,	for <i>proceed</i> read <i>preside</i> .
"	116,	"	34, (from top)	for <i>carrying</i> read <i>urging</i> .
"	121,	"	28,	" for <i>four</i> read <i>fair</i> .
"	170,	"	14,	" for <i>Nease</i> read <i>Neuse</i> .
"	201,	"	21,	" for <i>advance</i> read <i>absence</i> .
"	215,	"	22,	" for <i>companies</i> read <i>commissioners</i> .
"	218,	"	29,	" for <i>gallant</i> read <i>galling</i> .
"	241,	"	23,	" for <i>Ball</i> read <i>Bull</i> .
"	242,	"	15,	" for <i>conducted</i> read <i>induced</i> .
"	276,	"	22,	" for 9,320 read 9,320,000.
"	283,	"	26,	" for <i>or</i> read <i>as</i> .
"	311,	"	22,	" for <i>across</i> read <i>access</i> .
"	338,	"	33,	" for <i>blank</i> read <i>flank</i> .
"	356,	"	31,	" for <i>Dobney</i> read <i>Dabney</i> .
"	365,	"	1,	" for <i>Lanohue</i> read <i>Larabee</i> .
"	373,	"	29,	" for <i>Hendman</i> read <i>Hindman</i> .
"	381,	"	32,	" for <i>returning</i> read <i>retiring</i> .
"	399,	"	23,	" for <i>sail</i> read <i>soil</i> .
"	405,	"	30,	" for <i>town</i> read <i>turn</i> .



# HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR.

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## CHAPTER I.

Causes of the War.—Aggressions on Neutral Commerce.—Colonial Trade.—Rule of 1756.—Armed Neutrality.—Treaty of 1794.—Impressment.—Blockade of 1806.—Orders in Council of January 1807, of November 1807.—Berlin and Milan decrees.—Embargo.—Non-Intercourse, and Non-Importation Laws.—Attack on the Chesapeake.—Erskine's Arrangement; Disavowed.—Monroe's and Pinckney's Treaty rejected.—Decisions of British Prize Courts.—Disputes with Jackson.—Champagny's letter to Armstrong.—President's Proclamation restoring French Intercourse.—Communications to the British Government.

*Neutral Rights.* For a century past, Great Britain has been the predominant naval power, and during a great portion of the time engaged in contests with other nations. Her wars have partaken much of the maritime character. As a belligerent possessing superior naval force, her interest has always led her, and her efforts have uniformly been exerted, to restrict neutral maritime rights. These, as recognised in the code of National Law, are simple and definite; authorizing the neutral to maintain its accustomed friendly relations with each belligerent; and to enjoy an unrestrained commerce with both, except in articles contraband of war, enemy's property, and with ports actually invested with a competent stationary force.

*Rule of 1756.* In the year 1756, a war commenced between Great Britain and France, relating to their colonial possessions in America. France being the weaker naval power, was unable to maintain her accustomed trade with her West India Islands, and opened it to neutrals. To interrupt and destroy this intercourse, so beneficial to France and her colonies, and so lucrative to neutrals, Great Britain of her own authority introduced this new principle of national law : "That no other trade should be allowed to neutrals, with the colonies of a belligerent in time of war, than what is allowed by the parent state in time of peace."

European nations possessing colonies abroad, unless on extraordinary occasions, and for very limited periods, restrict their trade entirely to themselves, furnishing the colonies with their manufactures and surplus productions, and in return taking the produce of the colonies to market : and in this way rendering them subservient to the interests of their parent state. This new British principle operated as a prohibition of all neutral trade with the colonies of the belligerent. Vessels engaged in the French colonial trade, were declared to be French by adoption, and subject to capture and condemnation. Unfortunately for the interests of commerce, there was no nation at this period able and willing to resist this first encroachment upon neutral rights, at the expense of war ; and Great Britain continued the practice until the peace of 1763 ; and in all her subsequent wars has claimed the same principle under the title of the rule of the war of 1756 as being part of the code of nations.

*Armed Neutrality of 1780.* In the year 1780 the war of the American revolution had extended to France and Spain, and assumed a maritime character. Infringements on neutral commerce, to an alarming extent, were the immediate consequence. The rule of the war of 1756 was revived, blockades by proclamation were introduced, and the list of contraband arbitrarily enlarged. To resist these encroachments, and



protect neutral maritime rights, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, formed a treaty of alliance, denominated the armed neutrality of 1780, by which they pledged themselves to support, at the hazard of war if necessary with either of the belligerents, these principles—

“That it should be lawful for any ships to sail freely from one port to another, or along the coast of the powers at war.

“That all merchandise and effects belonging to the subjects of the belligerent powers, and shipped in neutral bottoms, should be entirely free.

“That no place should be considered as blockaded, except the assailing power had taken a station so as to expose to imminent danger any ship attempting to sail in or out of such ports.

“That no neutral ships should be stopped, without a material and well-grounded cause : and in such cases justice should be done them without delay.”\*

A powerful naval armament was raised by the parties to this treaty, to enforce its principles, by which belligerent encroachments were checked for a time ; but it resulted in Great Britain's persevering in her claims, and making Holland a party to the war.

*Proclamation of Neutrality 1793.* At the commencement of the European war in 1792, the American government determined upon a strict and impartial neutrality, as their only safe and honourable course : and in April 1793, the President issued a proclamation, declaring that to be the relation in which the United States stood towards the European belligerents; and enjoining it on all the citizens to refrain from any acts of hostility towards either of the powers of war.†

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\* Treaty of neutrality, 1780.

† Proclamation of neutrality, 1793.

During the first periods of the French revolution, the feelings of the American people were altogether engaged on the side of what was then considered the cause of liberty. A sentiment of gratitude towards France for the aid she afforded the United States in the war of the revolution, as well as a recollection of the recent sufferings from the English, created and cherished strong predilections in favour of the French. The proclamation of neutrality was well adapted to prevent any ill effects which might arise from the excess of these feelings. In the progress of that war, however, there grew up in France a military despotism, alarming in its appearance, terrible in its progress, and threatening universal dominion: the contest at length became a struggle on the part of France for universal empire; on the part of the other continental powers, for national existence; and on the part of England, for the dominion of the ocean. Neutral rights, at first partially respected, were in the progress of the contest altogether disregarded. At an early period of this war, the course which Great Britain had determined to pursue in relation to neutrals began to develop itself.

*British Aggressions.* On the 8th of June, 1793, an order in council issued from the British cabinet, by virtue of which all vessels laden wholly or in part with bread-stuffs, bound to any port in France, or places occupied by French armies, were required to be carried into England, and their cargoes either there disposed of, or security given that they should be sold only in the ports of a country in amity with Great Britain.\*

On the 6th of the following November, claiming to revive the rule of the war of 1756, another order in council was issued, and silently circulated among the British cruisers, without notice to American merchants, directing "all vessels laden

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\* British provision order of June 1793.



with goods, the produce of any colony of France, or carrying provisions or supplies for such colony, to be seized and brought in for adjudication.”\* Some relaxation in the rigour, without any alteration in the principle of this order was introduced by a subsequent one of January 8th, 1794, which confined its operation to such vessels as were proceeding from, or bound directly to, Europe.

At the time of issuing the order, France had opened the ports of her West India colonies to neutral trade. American merchants were engaged in it to a great extent; and their property to the amount of many millions was swept from the ocean, carried into British ports, and condemned.

This conduct was attempted to be justified on the part of Great Britain, on the ground of expediency; her arguments were, that if the neutral colonial trade were permitted, she would be deprived of all substantial good derivable from her naval superiority, and the neutral be the only power benefited: that she was maintaining immense fleets and armies to no valuable purpose to herself, if her enemy might enjoy his colonial commerce through the medium of neutrals: that the neutral could have no right to claim the enjoyment of this commerce, which was interdicted to him, by the belligerent herself in time of peace.

*American Principles.* These principles were resisted on the part of the United States, on the ground that the law of nations warranted no such pretensions; that France and America were at peace; that with the exception of contraband of war, and enemy's property, she had a right to trade with France and her colonies, in such manner, in such articles, and to such an extent, as suited their mutual convenience, without the interference of Great Britain. While the goods were American property, sailing on the ocean under the Amer-

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\* British order in council of Nov. 6th, 1793.

ican flag, they were not liable to capture, because they might be destined to France. All trade, say they, is founded on the mutual convenience and wants of the parties; if this species of trade might be prohibited because France would receive a benefit from it, so indeed might all others; and the consequence would be a suspension of trade, or a general state of war. That the principles contended for by the United States had been recognised by Great Britain in regulating the trade of her own colonies; she having frequently relaxed her colonial system in time of war, whenever the good of her colonies or her own convenience required it, never admitting the principle that a neutral, taking advantage of such relaxation, infringed any belligerent rights. Principles so beneficial to France in the present state of her contest with Great Britain, did not fail to obtain the full support of the French government. America was required to maintain them at every hazard.

*Jay's Treaty.* The American Congress was in session when the first intelligence of the proceedings of the British cruisers, and prize courts under the orders of the 6th of November, 1793, reached the United States. A very high degree of excitement was the immediate consequence. Petitions for redress were presented to Congress from all quarters; and retaliatory measures which must have ended in war, were strenuously urged. At this period the President nominated a special envoy to the court of St. James, to seek redress for these grievances, and negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce. This mission, if successful, would remove the cause; if otherwise, every American would unite in defence of their rights: it suspended all legislative proceedings of a hostile character, and resulted in a treaty making provision for the payment of damages for losses sustained under illegal captures and condemnations. From this time until the peace of Amiens in 1802, the American commerce continued subject to



occasional aggressions from the British marine, though not in the same systematic manner as before the treaty of 1794.

*Impressment.* In the early stages of the European war, Great Britain advanced another claim which threatened destruction to the commerce of America, and struck at the foundation of her independence. The high wages, mild treatment, and security from danger, enjoyed by sailors on board American merchant vessels, afforded strong and irresistible inducements for British seamen to seek employment in American navigation; while the extended commerce of the United States made it equally the interest of the merchant to employ them. The British government viewed this desertion of their seamen as a fatal blow to power, and as depriving them of the means of defence and conquest.

In time of war, Great Britain claimed a right to the services of all her subjects, and insisted that a person born within the realm owed to the government a natural and unalienable allegiance, which no length of time, absence from home, or residence and naturalization in foreign states, could cancel. That at the command of their sovereign, every natural born subject, wherever he might be, or whatever engagements he might have contracted with other powers was bound to return, and fight the battles of his country.

In accordance with these principles, the Prince Regent issued a proclamation forbidding the employment of British seamen in foreign service, and ordering such as were absent, or thus employed, to return. The commanding officers of British armed vessels, were authorized and directed to board neutral merchantmen, and compel all British seamen found on board to enter their service. The execution of this order, intrusted to men always interested, many times incompetent, and often unprincipled, without appeal, or any mode of redress, was a continued source of vexation, hazard, and oppression to neutral commerce. The sameness of language, and similarity of manners in British and American seamen, ren-

dered it impossible for the British commander, if disposed, to distinguish with accuracy between them; and always afforded an excuse to the unprincipled, to rob the American merchant-vessel of such numbers and description of seamen as suited his convenience.

The manner in which these orders were executed was such as to excite the greatest animosity. The vessel was stopped in her course on the high seas, boarded by an inferior officer with a competent number of attendants; the crew mustered and compared with the roll, and such numbers taken, and declared to be British seamen, as the boarding officer thought proper to select; these were impressed into the British service without a hearing, or any possibility of redress. Any protections or other evidence of American citizenship were disregarded. The vessel was then dismissed, often in an insulting manner, and left to pursue her course, without a complement of hands, to the hazard, and often to the utter loss, of the voyage.) By these practices some thousands of native born American citizens were forced into the British navy.

*American Principles.* Principles so contrary to neutral rights, followed by practices so injurious to American commerce, and so humiliating to the country, were not to be endured. The United States maintained that the flag of a nation protected all that sailed under it; that seamen, from whatever country they came, who had placed themselves under the protection of the American government, and had become naturalized agreeably to the provisions of law, and were in the lawful pursuit of their business on board American ships, which were considered a part of the national domain, were entitled to the same protection with their native born citizens. Having left their country with the consent of its government, and connected themselves with a foreign state, they became a part of the nation they had adopted, and could not be forcibly taken, either on land or on the ocean, the common highway of nations, and compelled into the British

service. Great Britain herself had fully recognised this principle, by providing in her laws for the naturalization of foreigners, and enacting that foreign seamen serving a short period on board her vessels, or marrying in England, become naturalized and entitled to the same privileges and protection as her natural born subjects.

But waiving the question of unalienable natural allegiance every government is bound so to use and enjoy its own rights as not to injure and destroy the rights of others. That for one government to seek and forcibly seize its subjects while under the special protection, or within the dominions of another, was a prostration of the sovereignty of the latter. No process of national law could be found which would authorize the crews of British ships to invade the territory, or board the ships of another sovereign in search of their subjects, whom they had voluntarily suffered to leave them. Every circumstance attending the arrest, search, and impressment, was degrading; it could not be carried into effect without involving thousands of American citizens, to whom the British government could have no pretensions, in undistinguished ruin.

In all their remonstrances to the British government, the United States offered to exclude British seamen from their service, which would remove any pretence of necessity for the practice. At an early period of the negotiations upon this subject, Great Britain indeed consented to relinquish the practice on what she termed the high seas. But the waters surrounding the British Islands, and separating them from the Continent, from Cape Finisterre on the south, to the northernmost islands of Scotland, they denominated the narrow seas, and claimed to exercise territorial jurisdiction on them; whenever, therefore, American vessels came within those seas, as they necessarily must, when bound to the Baltic, to Ham-  
burgh, Holland, or the northern parts of France, they were on this principle within the territorial jurisdiction of the



British government, and subject to search and impressment.\* A doctrine so subversive of national rights, and at the same time so destitute of principle, could not be submitted to by any independent power. The peace of Amiens afforded a short suspension of aggressions upon neutral rights, but with the renewal of the war those aggressions were renewed with increased violence. By a British order in council of June 1803, the principle was claimed, that a neutral vessel on her return was liable to capture and condemnation, from the circumstance that in her outward voyage she had conveyed contraband goods to an enemy's port.†

*Blockade of 1806.* By a British proclamation of the 10th of May, 1806, the whole sea-coast bordering on the English Channel, from the port of Brest to the mouth of the Elbe, both inclusive, embracing a distance of six hundred miles, was declared to be in a state of blockade, and neutral vessels prohibited entering any of the ports on that coast. It was not pretended that there was a sufficient naval force before each of these ports to invest it, but it was claimed that such was the number and situation of the British ships of war in and near the channel, that no vessel could enter those ports with safety, and on that ground they might lawfully be prohibited. A proclamation of blockade notified to the ministers of neutral powers was deemed sufficient notice to their vessels, of the existence of such blockade: and ships cleared out for ports prohibited under the proclamation were deemed lawful prize, on any part of the ocean. The principle of public law by which neutrals are excluded from belligerent ports, originally extended only to places actually besieged, where their admission would prolong the siege or prevent a capture; and it was not until after England had gained a naval ascendancy, that it was ever admitted to extend to places where the object

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\* Mr. King's Letter to the Secretary of State, July 1803.

† Order in Council of the 24th June 1803.

of the blockade was not their reduction. But in all cases the neutral attempting to enter is to be first warned to depart, and liable to capture and condemnation only on a second attempt.\*

*Orders in Council.* By an order of council of the 7th of January, 1807, no neutral vessel was allowed to trade from one port to another of France or her allies, or which was in possession of her armies, or of any countries from which British vessels were excluded. This order was not claimed to be founded upon any principles of national law, but in retaliation for French decrees, which the same order declares to be mere empty threats without the possibility of being executed.

The orders in council of the 11th of November, superseded all former ones, and put an end to neutral trade. They declared all the ports and places of France, her allies, or any other country at war with England, or from which the British flag was excluded, and all their colonies to be in a state of blockade, and all commerce, in articles the produce or manufacture of such countries, to be unlawful. As a matter of professed favour to neutrals, they were allowed to bring their cargoes to England, pay the British duties, and proceed to the Continent, where, for this very reason, they would be subject to condemnation.†

*Milan Decree.* This was followed by the French Milan decree, of the 17th of December, which declared all vessels bound to or sailing from England, or which had submitted to English search, to be subject to capture and condemnation.

Both nations, in their treatment of neutrals, equally disregarded their rights; and adopted principles unknown to the law of nations, and subversive of the plainest maxims of justice. Each claimed the right of destroying the commerce of the other, by prohibiting the trade of neutrals with their opponent. The doctrine of retaliation, which in certain cases

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\* Vattel 508.

† British order in council, November 1807.

and to a limited extent, admits one belligerent, who has received an injury from his antagonist, to inflict the same on him in return, was drawn into view to justify the practice of inflicting on an innocent neutral, an injury of the same character which the neutral had received from the opposing belligerent. These principles, carried into operation with the most rigorous energy, swept from the ocean the commerce of the United States ; and nothing but an utter inability to resist them with effect could justify even a temporary forbearance.

*Berlin Decree.* The French government, after the destruction of their marine, and the absolute naval ascendancy of Great Britain, became the champions of the freedom of the seas. Dependent on neutrals for the little commerce they enjoyed, they were desirous of extending the immunities of the neutral flag, and proclaimed the principles of national law to be, that maritime war could not be lawfully extended to any private property, nor to persons who are not military :—that the right of blockade should be restrained to fortified places actually invested by a competent military force : that free ships should make free goods, and the flag protect the merchandise conveyed under it ; and that a ship was a part of the domain of the nation whose flag she bore, and could not be approached by a belligerent but for the purpose of taking enemy-soldiers in arms, and goods contraband of war. The adoption of these principles, it was obvious, would render the British marine in a great measure useless ; and would be the last point that Great Britain would be expected to give up ; neutrals, however, were required to resist any encroachments upon them at all hazards ; otherwise they would consider the neutral as forfeiting his character, his ships as denationalized, and liable to capture and condemnation. The promulgation of this doctrine was followed by a series of disastrous pillage on American commerce, for which the only reason assigned was that the United States did not resist British aggressions by immediate war. The French consid-



ered American property on the ocean as free plunder, and captured, burnt, and destroyed it at their pleasure. The first public edict upon the subject, was the Berlin decree of November 1806, which, after recounting the various aggressions of the British upon neutral commercial rights, declares the British Islands to be in a state of blockade, and prohibits all commerce and correspondence with them; and further declares all merchandise coming from English manufactories or from English colonies to be lawful prize; and that no vessel coming from England, or her colonies, or having been there since the publication of the decrees, should be received into French ports.

*Conduct of British Ships in American Waters.* To give efficacy to their orders in council, the British kept constantly hovering on the coast, and in the American waters, a large naval force. This was a constant source of vexation: scarcely a vessel could go in or out of a port without being arrested and searched by a British cruiser, and often on the most frivolous pretexts sent to England for condemnation.

*Conduct of the British Prize Courts.* The British prize courts, though under the Presidency of Sir William Scott, a very able jurist, had moulded their doctrines and decisions in conformity to the views of government; had given to the proclamations of the Prince Regent, and the orders in council, the power of abrogating the law of nations; and under the head of supporting what were claimed to be British maritime rights, had extinguished the just rights and privileges of all other nations.

On the 25th of April, 1806, the British ship *Leander*, Captain Whitby, in company with two other ships of war, off Sandy-Hook, fired upon the sloop *Richard*, a coasting vessel from Brandywine, coming into New-York, and killed John Pierce, the man at the helm. The sloop then pursued her course to the city, where the body was landed; a jury of inquest held, and a verdict of wilful murder returned against

Captain Whitby. The corpse was interred under direction of the city authorities with every mark of respect. The excitement which this outrage occasioned throughout the country was extreme. The President issued a proclamation ordering Whitby to be arrested for trial if ever found in any part of the United States, and prohibiting all intercourse with the *Leander*, and the ships in company with her.

*Capture of the Chesapeake.* On the 22d of June, 1807, the American frigate *Chesapeake*, Commodore Barron, of thirty-six guns, sailed from Hampton Roads, on a cruise to the Mediterranean. In proceeding to sea, she passed a British squadron at anchor in Lynnhaven bay; soon after, the British ship of war *Leopard*, of fifty guns, followed her; at three leagues distance from Cape Henry, the *Leopard* came up with the *Chesapeake*, sent an officer on board, and demanded the surrender of a number of her crew, whom he claimed to be deserters from the British squadron, and showed an order from Admiral Berkeley, directing them to be taken by force in case of refusal. Commodore Barron replied that he had given his recruiting officers orders to enlist no British deserters; that he knew of no such on board; and that he should not suffer his crew to be mustered by any but his own officers. On receiving this reply, the *Leopard* commenced a heavy fire on the *Chesapeake*; Commodore Barron being wholly unprepared for action, sustained the fire about thirty minutes, and surrendered his ship. The Captain of the *Leopard* sent an officer on board, mustered the crew, took from them four persons whom he claimed to be British deserters, and returned to Lynnhaven bay. Three of them were afterwards proved to be impressed native American seamen; the fourth was tried and executed as a British deserter. The *Chesapeake* had three men killed and eighteen wounded, and was so damaged in her hull and rigging as to be wholly unable to proceed on her voyage. The conduct of Commodore Barron was investigated by a naval tribunal, who censured him for not

preparing his ship for action and returning the *Leopard's* fire, and ordered him suspended for a year. In consequence of this outrage, which appeared to be the consummation of acts of violence committed by the British on American ships, the President issued a proclamation forbidding all British armed vessels from entering the waters of the United States, and prohibiting all intercourse with them. The attack on the *Chesapeake* was afterwards disavowed by the British government, the two surviving men restored, and provision made for the families of the slain; this satisfaction was accepted by the American government.

*Monroe and Pinckney's Treaty.* In March 1806, Mr. William Pinckney, of Maryland, was appointed envoy extraordinary to the British court, and in conjunction with Mr. Monroe, the resident minister, directed to seek redress for past injuries, and obtain stipulations against the violation of neutral rights in future. On the subject of impressment, they were instructed to make it a preliminary, and without a satisfactory arrangement of that point, to conclude no treaty.\* Mr. Pinckney left the United States in May, and immediately on his arrival, entered with Mr. Monroe on the business of his mission. On the subject of impressment, they found the British government entirely inexorable. The American ministers then informed the British that their instructions forbade their concluding any treaty in which that subject was not arranged, and of course their acts would not be obligatory upon their government. They proceeded however to the discussion of the other topics with the British ministry, and on the 31st of December concluded a treaty which contained no stipulation on the subject of impressment, no agreement for satisfaction for past injuries, and which impliedly, recognised the right of the British to interdict the neutral direct colonial trade.†

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\* Instructions of May 17th, 1806.

† Monroe and Pinckney's treaty, December 31st, 1806.



Accompanying the treaty, was a note from the British commissioners, declaring, that unless France repealed her edicts against neutral commerce with Great Britain, or America effectually resisted them, the treaty should not be obligatory upon the British government.\* On receiving this treaty under these circumstances, the President rejected it without submitting it to the Senate. The envoys were instructed to renew the negotiations, and endeavour to obtain better terms. In attempting to do this, they were informed by the British ministry that further negotiations would be useless.

*Embargo.* At this crisis the President convened Congress on the 26th of October, 1807. It had become a subject deeply interesting to every portion of the community, what course the United States ought to pursue. That both belligerents had violated the most essential and important neutral rights of the United States, admitted of no doubt. These rights were essential to the prosperity of the nation, and as much the duty of the government to protect as their territory. The American government had been suing at the courts of the belligerents, for more than twelve years, for liberty of enjoying some of the privileges accorded to neutrals by the laws of nations, and had sued in vain, and were at length told that further suits would be useless. The principle assumed by both belligerents was the same, viz. to violate any neutral right, when they could prejudice their enemy thereby. There was this practical difference between them. The British were able to carry their edicts into execution with a most destructive energy; the French decrees, from the weakness of their marine, were in a great measure empty threats.

A large portion of the commercial part of the community, were in favour of permitting American vessels to arm in their own defence, and to leave it to the discretion of the merchant to pursue such commercial adventures as his judgment should

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\* British note accompanying treaty, 31st of December.

direct. This was considered by the government as compromising their honour, and affording fresh opportunities for continued insults. On the 18th of December the President recommended, and Congress afterwards adopted, an embargo, universal in extent, and unlimited in duration. Two objects were proposed by this measure: one, to induce the belligerents, from the inconveniences resulting to them from the deprivation of the American trade, to relax their hostility to neutral commerce; the other to preserve the resources of the country within itself. To give complete effect to the measure, it became necessary to lay the coasting trade under the most inconvenient and burthensome restrictions, and to prohibit all land intercourse between the United States, and the neighbouring British colonies.

The experiment of compelling one nation to accede to the claims of another, by withholding "intercourse from all, had never before been made. The object was important, the attempt new," and could it have been successful, would have introduced a new and an important era in political science. It must have taken the place of wars in a great measure, as being a much more safe, easy, and cheap mode of enforcing a demand. The progress of improvement in international politics, had not hitherto kept pace with that of the arts, but this would have placed it in advance; and it was considered well worth almost any sacrifice to establish the principle, that the United States, by withholding their intercourse, could so operate upon the wants of other nations, as to induce them to accede to their claims. But unfortunately for the success of this experiment, the French government, viewing it as a very timely aid to their continental system, and as much more injurious to their enemy than to themselves, highly applauded the measure. The British, at this time trading with all the world except France and its dependencies, found themselves in a situation to endure a deprivation of American commerce much longer than, in their opinion, the Americans would be

able to endure a universal suspension of theirs. The British national character, and honour too in their apprehension, was at stake, and forbade their yielding the point. To an offer made the British government to repeal the embargo as to them, and continue it as to France, in case she would revoke her orders in council, they gave a decided negative, remarking that "his majesty would not hesitate to contribute in any manner in his power to restore to the commerce of the United States its wonted activity; and if it were possible to make any sacrifice for the repeal of the embargo, without appearing to deprecate it as a measure of hostility, he would gladly have facilitated its removal, as a measure of inconvenient restriction upon the American people."\*

By the suspension of foreign commerce, a large portion of the community, whose employment and subsistence depended upon business connected with navigation, were instantly thrown out of employment and reduced to distress. The productions of agriculture were perishing on the hands of the planters; the ships of the merchant rotting at the wharves, and the seamen dispersing themselves through the country seeking employment and subsistence. These inconveniencies, however, were in some measure counterbalanced by the establishment of various important branches of manufactures.

*Erskine's Arrangement.* In January 1809, the British cabinet transmitted instructions to their minister at Washington, Mr. Erskine, to offer the American government, that, in case they would repeal all their restrictive acts against Great Britain, and leave them in force against France, renounce all claim to the colonial trade, submit to the rule of the war of 1756, and agree that the British cruisers might capture all American vessels attempting to trade with France contrary to the provisions of those laws, the British government would consent to withdraw their orders in council, so far as it re-

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\* Canning's Letter to Pinckney, Sept. 23, 1808.



spected America. On these propositions being made to the American government, they were at once rejected. The British minister, misapprehending his instructions, then proceeded to agree to the terms proposed by the Secretary of State: That upon the orders in council being removed, the President would issue a proclamation restoring intercourse with Great Britain, and leaving the restrictive laws in force against France. This arrangement being made, the orders in council were declared to be revoked after the 10th June, 1809,\* and the President, by proclamation, declared the accustomed intercourse between the United States and Great Britain to be renewed after that period.

The British government disavowed this arrangement, and declared that their minister had exceeded his instructions, and that their orders in council were still in force. Mr. Erskine was immediately recalled, and his place supplied by Mr. Jackson, late minister at Copenhagen.

*Jackson's Mission.* This minister seems to have entered on his mission deeply impressed with ideas of the importance of the power that sent him, and of the inferiority of the power to which he was sent, and disposed to treat the government of the United States with the same insolence that had been practised towards the Danish government and other minor European powers. To an intimation from the Secretary of State, that upon the important topics which were the subject of discussion between them, it was desirable that their communications should be in writing, as less liable to error and misapprehension, he replied, that he believed that there does not exist in the annals of diplomacy, a precedent for such a determination, and after entering his protest, complied with the intimation. On being called upon to explain the reasons why his government disavowed the proceedings of his predecessor, he stated that the American government knew that he ex-

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\* Erskine's Arrangement of 19th April, 1809.

ceeded his instructions, and of course had no reason to expect the arrangement would be approved. On being told that the American government had no such knowledge, he repeated the assertion. He was informed that it was highly indecorous directly to contradict the solemn declarations of the government. He afterwards repeated the assertion, and was then informed, that for the purpose of avoiding future insults, no further communication would be received from him.\* On the disavowal of Mr. Erskine's arrangement by the British government, the President's proclamation was revoked, and the relation between the two countries restored to its former footing. On a representation by Mr. Pinckney to the British government, of the conduct of Mr. Jackson, he was recalled; and after a delay of a year and a half, his place supplied by Mr. Foster.

After an experiment of fifteen months, the government and people of the United States became fully satisfied that an American embargo was a very feeble and inefficient weapon against foreign aggression. It was therefore determined to abandon it, and substitute a system of non-intercourse and non-importation against both belligerents.

*Non-Importation and Non-Intercourse Laws.* In March 1809, Congress raised the embargo as to all other nations, except Great Britain, France, and their dependencies, and substituted a system of non-intercourse and non-importation as to them, which prohibited all voyages to the British or French dominions, and all trade in articles of British or French product or manufacture; at the same time authorizing the President, in case either power should so revoke or modify their edicts, as that they should cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States, to declare the same by proclamation, after which trade might be renewed with the nation so doing. On the 1st of May, 1810, the non-intercourse and non-importation

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\* Secretary of State to Mr. Jackson, Nov. 8th, 1809.

laws were repealed, and an act passed excluding both British and French armed vessels from the waters of the United States ; and further providing, that, in case either Great Britain or France should so revoke or modify their edicts before the 3d of March, 1811, as that they should cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States, and if the other nation should not within three months thereafter, in like manner revoke or modify their edicts, the provisions of the non-intercourse and non-importation laws should, at the expiration of the said three months, be revived against the nation neglecting or refusing so to modify their edicts.\*

*Champagny's Letter to Armstrong announcing the Repeal of the French Decrees.* On the communication of this act to the French government, their Secretary of foreign affairs, on the 5th of August 1810, addressed a note to Mr. Armstrong, the American minister, declaring "that the decrees of Berlin and Milan are revoked, and that after the first day of the following November, they will cease to have effect; it being understood, that in consequence of this declaration, the English shall revoke their orders in council, and renounce the new principles of blockade which they have wished to establish, or that the United States, conformably to their law, will cause their rights to be respected by the English."†

The President considered this as a compliance on the part of France, with the provisions of the act of the 1st of May, and on the 2d of November, issued a proclamation, declaring that the edicts of France, violating the neutral commerce of the United States, were so revoked, as to cease to have effect on the 1st of November, and that from that period, all restrictions should be discontinued in relation to France and her dependencies. ‡

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\* Act of May 1st, 1810.

† Champagny's Letter of the 5th of August 1810.

‡ President's Proclamation of the 2d of November.



On the same day, a circular was addressed from the treasury department, to the collectors of the customs, directing them to admit French armed vessels into the ports and waters of the United States ; and to apply, after the 2d of February, 1811, to English vessels of every description, and to the productions and manufactures of England, the provisions of the non-intercourse and non-importation laws, unless prior to that period the revocation of the orders in council should be announced by the President.

On the 25th of December, the French minister of justice gave directions to the council of prizes, that all proceedings against American vessels, captured after the 1st of November, should be suspended until the 2d of February, and in case the restrictive system was then revived, and carried into effect by the United States, against Great Britain; that the captures should be declared null, and the vessels and cargoes restored.

On the same day, the minister of finance gave orders to the director general of the customs, that the Berlin and Milan decrees were not to be applied to American vessels entering the ports of France, after the 1st of the preceding November.

These proceedings were pressed upon the British government, as evidence of the repeal of the French decrees, and a revocation of their orders in council was claimed, they having been always professed to be founded upon those decrees, and assurances having been given, that they should be of no longer duration. These applications, reiterated and enforced with great zeal and ability by Mr. Pinckney, were unavailing, notwithstanding the French minister of foreign relations had declared to the American ambassador, that the obnoxious decrees were repealed; and orders had been given in pursuance thereof to the prize courts, and directors of the customs, to govern themselves accordingly in their treatment

of American navigation. The British ministry affected to consider these proceedings of the French government, as unofficial and deceptive. Their orders in council remained in force, and the restrictive system was revived against them in February 1811, according to the provisions of the act of May 1810.





## CHAPTER II.

First Meeting of Twelfth Congress.—Message.—Correspondence between Monroe and Foster.—Decisions of the Admiralty Courts in the Case of the Fox, and others.—Report of the Committee of Foreign Relations.—Arguments of the Minority against the Report.—John Henry's Papers.—His Instructions.—His Correspondence.—Inquiry respecting Him in the House of Representatives.—Message of the 1st of June.—Report of Committee of Foreign Relations, recommending War.—Declaration of War.—Address of the Minority to their Constituents.—Army and Navy Bills.—Treasury Estimates.—Plan of Finance for the War.—Loan for 1812.

*Meeting of Congress.* THE 1st session of the 12th Congress commenced, by a special call from the President, on the 4th of November, 1811. Having been recently elected, the members assembled, possessed of a full knowledge of the feelings and views of their constituents.

*Message.* In his message, at the opening of the session, the President informed them, that the successive confirmations of the repeal of the French decrees, so far as they violated the neutral commerce of the United States, had not induced the government of Great Britain to revoke her orders in council; that they continued to be executed with increased rigour; that Great Britain now further claimed, as an indispensable condition of the repeal of those orders, that commerce should be restored to a footing that would admit British manufactures, when carried by neutrals into markets shut against them by their enemy; that the British ministry claimed the repeal of the non-intercourse-laws, and had declared that their continuance against Great Britain, after they were repealed as to France, would lead to measures of retaliation; that all indemnity for past injuries had been

withheld; that the coasts and harbours of the United States had witnessed scenes derogatory to national rights, and vexatious to the regular course of trade; and that France had indeed repealed her obnoxious decrees, but had refused to redress the other wrongs done to the United States, and to restore a great amount of American property, taken and condemned under the most unjustifiable edicts.

Under these circumstances, the President stated, that the executive had exerted the means with which it was intrusted, for the general safety. The works of defence, on the maritime frontier, had been prosecuted with activity, and the most important ones nearly completed. The ships of war had been employed as a cruising guard on the coast, and such a disposition of the land forces made, as would render their services the most important: that a considerable body of regulars and militia had been assembled in the Indiana Territory, and marched toward the north-western frontier.

The President recommended to Congress, to make provision for prolonging the enlistments, and filling the ranks of the regular army; to raise an auxiliary force for a limited time, and to accept the services of volunteer corps: and that such provision be made on the subject of the naval force as should be necessary to prepare it for active service. That it be prohibited to accept licenses from foreign governments, for a trade unlawfully interdicted by them to other American citizens; or to trade under false colours, or papers of any description: that vessels from foreign countries be prohibited from admission into particular ports, which were authorized to trade with those ports only.

In making the estimates for the ensuing year, Congress were reminded that the probable decrease of revenue arising from the suspension of commerce, and the extraordinary expenses which had already and might in future become necessary, must be taken into view; and that a sufficiency of revenue should be provided, to defray the ordinary expenses

of government, and pay the interest on the public debt, including the new loans that may be authorized. \*

*Correspondence between the American and British Ministers.*

Accompanying the message was a voluminous correspondence between the American secretary of state, and the British minister. The correspondence opened by a letter from the latter to the former, of the 3d of July, 1811, claiming that the blockade of May 1806 was warranted by the established law of nations, because it was intended to be, and in fact was, supported by an adequate naval force, appointed to guard the whole coast described in the notification. That the Berlin decree was not justified by any of the pretexts set up by France, that it was an outrage upon all neutral rights, and if submitted to by America, would justify Great Britain in adopting retaliatory measures in her own defence. That her orders in council were predicated upon the principle of defensive retaliation.

That the blockade of 1806 was included in the more extensive orders in council; and that these would not be continued beyond the effectual repeal of the French decrees. That the communication of the French minister to General Armstrong, of the 5th of August, 1810, was not such a repeal: that the Emperor, in a speech to the deputies, from the free cities of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck, of the 17th of June, had declared that the decrees of Berlin and Milan should be the public code of France, as long as England should maintain her illegal blockades: that captures and condemnations of American vessels had taken place under the operation of those decrees, since they were said to have been repealed. He complained that America had suffered her trade to be moulded into the means of annoyance to Great Britain, under the provisions of the French decrees; that she had construed those decrees to have become extinct upon a

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\* President's message, November 5th, 1811.



deceitful declaration of the French cabinet, and had unjustly, and contrary to her duties as a neutral, enforced her restrictive measures against Great Britain alone.

The department of state was at this time confided to Mr. Monroe, a statesman of distinguished practical talents, perfectly versed in the relations of the United States with foreign powers, and able to defend the system which had been adopted towards them. On the 23d of July, he replied "that it was not necessary for the United States to determine the priority of aggression in order to show that Great Britain was in the wrong. That in regard to the blockades, by the known and acknowledged law of nations, ports not actually invested, by a present, adequate, stationary, naval force, employed by the power which attacks them, should not be considered as shut to neutral trade in articles not contraband of war. Though it is usual for a belligerent to give notice to neutrals, when he intends to institute a blockade, yet he may not act upon his intention at all, or he may discontinue the blockade, of which it is not usual to give notice; consequently, the actual presence of the blockading force is the only criterion by which the neutral is enabled to ascertain the existence of the blockade at any given period. A mere notification therefore to a neutral minister, cannot be considered as affecting with knowledge of the actual existence of a blockade, either his government, or its citizens. That a vessel cleared or bound to a blockaded port should not be considered as violating the blockade, unless on her approach to such port, she should have been previously warned to depart. That this view of the law is peculiarly important to nations situated at a great distance from the belligerent parties, and incapable at any given period of obtaining actual information of the then existing state of their ports. That whole coasts and countries should not be declared in a state of blockade, and thus neutral trade extinguished, and this prac-

tice made an instrument of unjust monopoly, instead of a measure of honourable war."

In relation to the orders in council, the secretary observed, "that if the right of retaliation was admitted, it should be carried no further against an unoffending neutral, than the actual operation of the French decrees, which in the present case, were admitted to be little more than empty threats: while on the other hand, the orders in council gave a deadly blow to American commerce, and extended their operations against the trade of the United States with nations, which, like Russia, had not adopted the French decrees. That the modification contained in the first orders, which allowed neutrals to prosecute their trade through Great Britain, contained a pretension utterly incompatible with the sovereignty of other states, and in a commercial point of view, altogether nugatory. As France did not permit a neutral to come into her ports from her enemy, this attempt of Great Britain to force the trade of the United States through her ports, would have the effect of depriving them of the markets of France, and at the same time destroying their value in the British market by a surcharge of it. Against the system adopted by both belligerents, the United States had at an early period made a solemn protest. It had been their uniform object to avoid becoming a party to the war. They had observed a strict impartiality towards both belligerents, having in no instance given a preference to one at the expense of the other. The alternative presented by the act of May 1810, was offered equally to both, and could operate upon neither any longer than it should persevere in its aggressions. That if it makes a distinction at this time in its operation between the belligerents, it necessarily results from the compliance of one, with the offer made to both, and which is still open to the compliance of the other. The violations alluded to in the act, are those only which are committed on the high seas. It was the revocation of these edicts alone, that the United

States could claim : that these were in reality and in practice revoked, was proved not only from the declarations of the French minister of the 5th of August, 1810, but from the fact that no American vessel had been condemned under them since the 1st of November, when the revocation was to take effect ; and from the directions given to the tribunal of prizes, to make no decision on causes depending on those edicts, until after the 2d of February, and on the United States enforcing the non-importation law against Great Britain at that period, the property was restored to the owners." This discussion, and a similar one conducted at the British court between Mr. Pinckney, and the Marquis of Wellesley, ended in both parties' maintaining the ground they had taken, without any concessions by either.\*

*Condemnation of American Vessels.* Further documents were communicated to Congress, showing that in June 1811, Sir Wiliam Scott, judge of the vice admiralty court, had proceeded to render judgment in the cases of the American vessels brought into England, and libelled under the orders in council, since the French decrees were said to be repealed. The judge admits the principle that the law of nations is the rule of decision in that court. Having granted this point, to give the opinion which he was about to declare the appearance of consistency, he had to establish two positions: one, that the orders in council are consistent with the law of nations ; the other, that the French decrees are not repealed as to the United States. In this effort, he exhibits the unpleasant spectacle of a great man, for political purposes, arguing against the convictions of his own understanding. He labours to show, that the law of nations justifies a retaliation upon neutrals, of the aggressions inflicted upon such neutrals by the opposing belligerent. That the orders in

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\* Correspondence between Monroe and Foster, communicated to Congress, November 1811.



council are no more than a just measure of retaliation for the French decrees, and are therefore justifiable.

That the only proper evidence of the revocation of the orders in council is some act of the government imposing them.

That if a repeal of the French decrees would, without any act of the British government, operate as a revocation of the orders, yet that no such repeal had ever taken place; the pretended repeal being prospective, conditional, and never having been carried into effect. The judge then proceeded to render judgment against twenty-eight American vessels, of the value of \$832,500, captured and libelled since the 1st of the preceding November.\*

*Report of Committee of Foreign Relations.* The message and documents were referred to the committee of foreign relations,† who reported agreeably to the recommendation of the President, a system of measures, for the increase of the military and naval forces, preparatory to a declaration of war. The object of the military force was declared to be the conquest of the Canadas.

In introducing their report to the consideration of the house, the committee declare that open avowed war with Great Britain is the object, and those who are not prepared for such an event will of course be opposed to the principles of the report. That in their opinion, the rights which Great Britain had forcibly wrested from the United States, were worth the hazard of war. That both the interest and honour of the nation called for the measure. That even without a navy, serious impressions might be made on Great Britain at sea. That immediately after a declaration of war, numerous

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\* Sir William Scott's decision in the ~~case~~ of the *Fox* and others, June 1811.

† Porter, Calhoun, Grundy, Smilie, Randolph, Harper, Key, Desha, Seaver.

American privateers would appear in every part of the ocean, and annoy her commerce. That they would harrass, if not destroy the vast and profitable commerce which she is carrying on to every part of the American continent. We could destroy, say the committee, her fisheries in the north, deplete on her commerce to the West-India Islands, which is constantly passing by our doors, annoy her trade along the coast of South America, and even carry the war on her commerce to her own shores in Europe. But, said the committee, there is another point where we can attack her, and where she would feel our power most sensibly. We could deprive her of her extensive provinces lying along our borders on the north. These provinces were not only immensely valuable in themselves, but almost indispensable to Great Britain, cut off as she now is in a great measure, from the north of Europe. The exports from Quebec alone for the last year, are said to amount to nearly six millions; and most of them in articles of the first necessity, in ship-timber, and in provisions for the support of her fleets and armies. By carrying on such a war, at the public expense on land, and by individual enterprise at sea, we should be able to remunerate ourselves in a short time, ten-fold for all the spoiliations she had committed on our commerce. On this occasion, the committee trusted that party reflections and recriminations would cease, and that the whole House of Representatives, and the great body of the people, would form but one party, and the enemy the other.

*Arguments against the war.* A respectable minority in both Houses of Congress, a large portion of the community, including a majority of the commercial interests, were opposed to a war. The genius of the American government, they contended, calculated for all the beneficial purposes of peace, is not adapted to war. After hostilities are decided on in the cabinet, they are to be submitted to Congress, there to undergo a discussion of six or eight months, under the view

of the minister of the nation against whom they are directed, who will be careful to record and transmit to his government every occurrence. In this manner, by the time war is declared, the enemy will become fully possessed of the views, objects, and plans of his opponent. After war is decided on in Congress, an army is to be raised by voluntary enlistment; a process always slow and uncertain, and often unavailable. This completed, the army is to be equipped, disciplined, and marched to its object, where doubtless the enemy will be found ready to receive them. No police to banish suspected persons, and to detect and punish spies and traitors. By the time an American army would reach the borders of Canada, they would be met, it was predicted, by a British force of European veterans, provincial militia, and Indian warriors, sufficient to withstand them. Canada is not so easy a conquest. Bonaparte might, indeed, have declared war, conquered the country, and made peace before an American army could have commenced its operations. Canada conquered, it adds but an immense wilderness to the American territory, and incorporates into its society, a people of discordant habits and principles, and instead of strengthening, weakens the Union.

The texture of the American government, composed of powerful and independent sovereignties, associated in relations some of which are critical as well as novel, is such that war might put its existence at hazard. War is most likely to call into activity the passions which are hostile to such a form of government. Time and further experience is yet important to mature its recent institutions. If war is now entered into, it must be by a divided people, as well from a conviction of the inadequacy of the means of success, as from moral and political considerations.

“How,” said the gentlemen in opposition to the war, in powerful strains of eloquence, “shall a nation like the United States, happy in its great local relations, removed from the bloody theatre of Europe, with a maritime border opening



vast fields for enterprise, with territorial possessions exceeding every real want, its fire-sides safe, its altars undefiled; from invasion nothing to fear, from acquisition nothing to hope; how shall such a nation look to heaven for its smiles, while throwing away, as though they were worthless, all the blessings and joys which peace and such a distinguished lot secure? With what prayers can it address the Most High, when it prepares to pour forth its youthful rage upon a neighbouring people, from whose strength it has nothing to dread, from whose destruction it has nothing to gain? What balm has Canada for wounded honour? How are our mariners to be benefited by a war, which exposes those who are free without releasing those who have been impressed? But this war, it is said, is demanded by honour. Is national honour then a principle that thirsts after vengeance, and is appeased only by blood; which trampling on the hopes of man, and spurning the laws of God, untaught by what is past, and careless of what is to come, precipitates itself into any folly or madness to gratify its vanity, or satiate some unhallowed rage?

If honour demands a war with England, what opiate lulls that honour to sleep over the wrongs done by France? On land, robberies, seizures, and imprisonments; at sea, pillage, sinkings, and burnings. These are notorious. Are they unfelt because they are French? To supply the waste of such a war, and to meet the appropriations of millions, extraordinary for the war expenditures, our citizens must be doomed, throughout the Union, to sustain the burthen of war-taxes, in various forms of direct and indirect imposition.

"It would be some relief, if amends were likely to be made for the weakness and wildness of the project, by the prudence of the preparation. But in no respect can we trace any great and distinctive properties of wisdom. With a navy comparatively nominal, we are about to encounter the greatest marine on the globe. With a commerce unprotected and spread over every ocean, we propose to make profit by privateering, and for this endanger the wealth of which we are

the honest proprietors. An invasion is threatened of the colonies of a power, which, without putting a single new ship in commission, or taking another soldier into pay, can spread alarm and desolation along the extensive range of our sea-board. Before adequate fortifications are prepared for domestic defence, before men or money are provided for an attack, why hasten into that awful contest which desolates Europe? It is not to be concealed, that to engage in the present war against England, is to place ourselves on the side of France, and expose ourselves to the vassalage of states serving under the banners of the French emperor." On the sea-board is an extent of more than two thousand miles, bordered with flourishing cities wholly unguarded; not a single port able to protect itself against a British fleet. An infant navy, unable to defend itself, or to guard a city, or scarcely to contend with a single ship of the line. This navy would probably fall into the hands of the enemy, and be the means of their further aggrandizement. Should, however, the American arms, united with France, conquer Great Britain, America must herself expect to fall the next victim to French despotism. The causes of war exist equally against France, and her means of annoyance are much less; while the British are masters of the ocean, the United States are safe from her attacks.

The true interest, honour, and sound policy of the United States, it was contended, require them to stand aloof from the present contest, leave the merchant to improve the remnant of commerce at his own discretion, abolish the restrictive system, and wait until a change of circumstances in Europe should restore the former state of things. A considerable portion of commerce is still open to American enterprise. The French decrees could interrupt only in a small degree the American trade, the risks of which would soon be measured by the insurance offices, so that the ship owners might trade with safety. That the trade with France, whose government obliges the American merchant to take in pay-

ment for his valuable commodities a return cargo of silks and brandies, was not worth contending for, and putting at hazard the dearest interests of the Union.\*

*John Henry's Disclosure.* As further evidence of the hostile views of Great Britain towards the United States, and of a disposition to cherish and to profit by any internal dissensions which might be supposed to exist, the President, on the 9th of March, communicated to Congress the documents and disclosures received at the department of state, from John Henry; from which it appeared, that Sir James Craig, Governor General of the Canadas, in February 1809, employed this man, an Irish emigrant, and formerly a captain in the United States service, now a desperate and unprincipled adventurer, in a mission of intrigue, and directed him to proceed from Montreal to Boston, with instructions to obtain the most accurate information of the true state of affairs in that part of the Union, which, as he states, from its wealth, number of inhabitants, and the known intelligence and ability of several of its leading men, must naturally possess a very considerable influence over, and would probably lead, the other Eastern States at this important crisis. To observe the state of public opinion, both with regard to their internal politics, and to a probability of a war with England; the comparative strength of the two great parties into which the country is divided, and the views and designs of that which may ultimately prevail. The instructions "proceed to remark, that it has been supposed that if the federalists are successful in obtaining that decided influence which may enable them to direct public opinion, that rather than submit to the continuance of the difficulties and distress to which they are now subject, they will exert that influence to bring about a separation from the general Union. The earliest information on this subject may be of great consequence to our government; as also to be informed how far, in such an event, they would look to England for assistance, or be disposed to enter into a connexion with us.

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\* Debates in Congress, December 1811.



“Although it is inexpedient that you should appear as an avowed agent, yet it may not be improper that you should insinuate, that if they should wish to enter into any communication with our government through me, you are authorized to receive any such, and will safely transmit it to me. As they may require some document by which they may be assured that you are really in a situation in which you represent yourself, I enclose a credential to be produced in that view; but you are not to make use of it, unless you see good ground for expecting that it may lead to a more confidential communication. In passing through Vermont you will of course exert your endeavours to procure all the information in your power.”\*

Furnished with these instructions, and with a cypher, for the purpose of carrying on a secret correspondence with his principal, this political spy set out on his mission on the 11th of February. At Burlington, Vermont, he fancied he had found considerable materials for sedition, and a very favourable disposition towards his majesty's government and Sir James's administration in Canada, so that in case of a war with Great Britain, Vermont would remain neutral. At Windsor, his faith appeared very much shaken; and at Amherst, New-Hampshire, he found himself unable to form any opinion upon the subject. He arrived at Boston on the 5th of March, and remained there until the first of June, during which time he amused his employers with ten letters, addressed to Sir James, informing him of the disposition he had discovered in the leading men, without naming any, to oppose the embargo laws, and in case of a war with Great Britain, to oppose the general government, and separate from the Union. This disposition was to be cherished and cultivated with the greatest caution and prudence. He was himself, he states, very instrumental in bringing it about, and the result would be highly beneficial to the safety and prosperity of his

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\* Sir J. Craig's instructions to J. Henry, Feb. 6th, 1809.

majesty's colonies. While things were progressing in his apprehension in a most prosperous way, the President's prompt acceptance of the friendly propositions made by Great Britain, through Mr. Erskine, produced a sudden change, and a temporary suspension of the conflict of parties. According to Henry's views, both parties regarded that event with equal wonder and distrust. They ascribe the President's conduct to various motives, but none believe him to be sincere. \* This event put an end to Mr. Henry's mission. His papers were all transcribed, and sent to the British ministry, and Lord Liverpool speaks in terms of commendation of the zeal and ability with which he executed his trust. Henry returned to Montreal, and from thence to London, and presented his claims for compensation to Lord Liverpool, who referred him back to Sir George Prevost, the successor of Sir James. But his demands were of such a nature and magnitude, as to meet a denial. The spy now became traitor, and came to Washington full of zeal and affection for the United States, and desirous of making a disclosure which should be all important to their interests. † The whole of his papers, the most secret and confidential between him and his government, were disclosed to the department of state, for the purpose of being made public. He received fifty thousand dollars for his treachery, and retired to France to enjoy the fruits of his speculation.

This disclosure proved that its author was a villain; that his employers were desirous of obtaining accurate information of the state of political parties in America, and of profiting by their dissensions; and that they were in the habit of employing secret agents for this purpose. The conduct of the administration in obtaining these documents, was severely censured by the opposition. They considered the conduct of Henry in betraying the secrets of his government, as highly

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\* Henry's Letters to Craig, from No. 3 to 14.

† Henry's Letters to the Secretary of State, February 20, 1812.

criminal, and endeavoured to implicate the American cabinet upon the generally received principle, that he who procures a crime to be committed is equally guilty with the perpetrator; without admitting, as a justification, the maxim in political morality often practised upon, that where an important object is to be obtained, the means are not to be scrupulously questioned. They also claimed that the information, purchased at so dear a rate, was of no importance: no facts were disclosed, other than what might naturally be supposed to exist; and none from which any practical consequences resulted.

In the House of Representatives five thousand copies of Henry's documents were ordered to be printed, and the subject referred to the committee of foreign relations, with power to send for persons, papers, and effects, but no further discoveries were obtained. In the senate a resolution was passed, requesting the President to furnish the names of any persons anywise implicated in Henry's disclosures. To this application the secretary of state reported, that no persons had been named by Henry as having any concern in his views and projects. \*

*Further Correspondence between the American and British Ministers.* On the 1st of June the President transmitted to Congress a correspondence between Mr. Russell, the American charge des affaires at London, and the British ministry, on the subject of the orders in council, by which it appeared, that they inflexibly adhered to their system, and that all hopes of accommodation were at an end. At the same time a further correspondence was communicated between Mr. Foster and the secretary of state on the same subject. As evidence that the French decrees were not repealed, Mr. Foster adduced a report of the French minister of foreign relations to the emperor of the tenth of March, which was communicated to the conservative senate, in which it is stated that

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\* Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress, March 1812.



these decrees are to be the bases of a system to exclude British merchandise from the [continent of Europe. That the armies of the emperor are to occupy the countries under his control, for the purpose of carrying into effect these objects. That neutral vessels that had submitted to English legislation by touching at an English port, or paid tribute to England, had thereby renounced the rights of their flag, and become denationalized. The British minister, therefore, claimed that the non-importation law ought to be repealed as to Great Britain, and commerce with her placed on the same footing as with France.

To this claim Mr. Monroe replied, that the American government had no concern with the edicts of the French emperor, operative only on the continent of Europe, or with his conduct towards any other nation than the United States. That the document in question furnished no evidence of a renewal of those decrees, so far as they affected American commerce on the ocean, and of course afforded no claim on the part of Great Britain for the repeal of the non-importation law, or any justification for a continuance of the orders in council.

In communicating these documents to Congress, the President stated that further negotiations would be useless. That it had now become a solemn question for the national legislature to decide, whether they should abandon their rights, or appeal to arms for their support. \*

*Declaration of War.* The committee of foreign relations, to whom the message and documents were referred, reported, "that the period had now arrived, when the United States must support their character and station among the nations of the earth, or submit to the most shameful degradation. Forbearance had ceased to be a virtue. War on one side, and peace on the other, is a situation as ruinous as it is disgraceful. The mad ambition and commercial avarice of Great Britain arrogated to herself the complete dominion of the

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\* President's Message, June 1, 1812, and Documents.

ocean, and left to neutral nations an alternative only between a base surrender of their rights and a manly vindication of them. That the United States, under the aid of Heaven, held their destinies in their own hands."

The committee then proceed to enumerate the British aggressions upon the neutral rights of the United States, from the commencement of the European war, to the period of their report. "More recently," they remark, "the true policy of the British government has been completely unfolded." It has been publicly declared that the orders in council should not be repealed, until France had revoked all her internal restraints on British commerce. That the American trade with France, and her allies should be prohibited until Great Britain was also allowed to trade with France. By this declaration it appears, that nothing short of the United States joining in the war against France would satisfy the claims of the British government. They consider the United States as their great commercial rival, and their prosperity and growth as incompatible with the welfare of Great Britain. Under all these circumstances, the committee remark, "it is impossible to doubt the motives which have governed the British ministry in all its measures towards the United States; equally impossible is it to doubt the course which America ought to pursue. The contest which is now forced upon her, is radically a contest for her sovereignty and independence. The free-born sons of America are worthy to enjoy the liberty which their fathers purchased at the price of much blood and treasure; and the committee seeing in the measures adopted by Great Britain, a course commenced and persisted in, which if submitted to, might lead to a loss of national character and independence, feel no hesitation in advising to a resistance by force, in which the Americans of the present day, will prove to the enemy and to the world, that they not only have inherited that liberty which their fathers gave them, but also the will and the power to maintain it. Relying on the patriotism of the nation, and confidently trusting that the Lord of hosts

will go with us to battle in a righteous cause, and crown our efforts with success, the committee recommend an immediate appeal to arms.”\*

On the 18th of June, an act passed both houses of Congress, and was approved by the President, declaring “war to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America, and their territories; and that the President be authorized to use the whole land and naval force of the United States to carry the same into effect, and to issue to private armed vessels of the United states, commissions, or letters of marque and general reprisals, in such form as he shall think proper, under the seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the government of Great Britain, and her subjects.” This act passed the Senate, yeas 19; Nays 13.

In the House of Representatives—

	<i>Yeas.</i>	<i>Nays.</i>
New-Hampshire, - - -	3 - - - - -	2
Massachusetts, - - -	6 - - - - -	8
Rhode-Island, - - -	0 - - - - -	2
Vermont, - - - - -	3 - - - - -	1
Connecticut, - - - -	0 - - - - -	7
New-York, - - - - -	3 - - - - -	11
New-Jersey, - - - - -	2 - - - - -	4
Pennsylvania, - - -	16 - - - - -	2
Delaware, - - - - -	0 - - - - -	1
Maryland, - - - - -	6 - - - - -	3
Virginia, - - - - -	14 - - - - -	5
North-Carolina, - - -	6 - - - - -	3
South-Carolina, - - -	8 - - - - -	0
Georgia, - - - - -	3 - - - - -	0
Kentucky, - - - - -	5 - - - - -	0
Tennessee, - - - - -	3 - - - - -	0
Ohio, - - - - -	1 - - - - -	0
Majority, 30.	79	49

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\* Report of committee of foreign relations.



In selecting Great Britain as an enemy, when equal cause of war existed against her and France, it was considered that the latter had no assailable points, no colonies on the continent of America, no Islands in the West Indies unoccupied by the British, no commerce on the ocean to invite, and reward the enterprise of American privateers. A declaration of war against her would in effect be a mere empty threat, having no other practical result than to force the country into an unequal and dangerous alliance with Great Britain.

*Protest of the Minority.* Immediately on the passage of the bill, the minority in Congress published an address to their constituents, assigning their reasons against the measure. In their view, a war with England would necessarily lead to a connexion with France, hazardous to the liberties of the United States. If war at all was necessary, it ought to be with France, as being the first and greatest in her aggressions. The commerce of France and her dependencies, embarrassed as it was with her internal restrictions, was not worth contending for. A profitable trade with England, they said, might be still carried on, notwithstanding the French edicts, as they were unable to enforce them to any extent. A considerable portion of the world, to which American commerce might extend, was not embraced in the prohibitions of either belligerent. They would therefore suffer the American merchants to arm in their own defence, and pursue such course of trade as their judgment should direct. They considered the attempt to conquer Canada as unjust and impolitic in itself, very uncertain in the issue, and promising no good in any result. The unprepared state of the country, in their view, altogether forbade a declaration of war at present. Without an army, or navy, or funds to create and support either; we were about to enter the lists with a power, who would at once desolate our frontier and seaboard with impunity. What, they ask, "are the United States to gain by this war? Will the gratification of some privateersmen compensate the nation for that sweep of our legitimate commerce, by the

573.6

P 41

extended marine of our enemy, which this desperate act invites? will Canada compensate the Middle States for New-York, or the Western for New-Orleans? Let us not be deceived. A war of invasion may invite a retort of invasion. When we visit the peaceable, and as to us innocent colonies of Great Britain with the horrors of war, can we be assured that our own coast will not be visited with like horror? At a crisis of the world such as the present, and under impressions such as these, the undersigned cannot consider the war into which the United States have in secret been precipitated as necessary, or required by any moral duty or political expediency.”\*

*War Measures.* The measures adopted this session preparatory to, or in consequence of the declaration of war, were, an act prohibiting the exportation of specie, a general embargo for ninety days from the 24th of April; an act authorizing the enlistment of twenty-five thousand men, and filling up the peace establishment of six thousand; several acts authorizing the President to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers; to call upon the executives of the several states for a detachment of one hundred thousand militia, to be apportioned to each state according to the militia returns; to raise seven companies of rangers of seventy-two men each for the protection of the frontiers from Indian depredations; several acts establishing the staff department, providing for the purchase of ordnance, camp equipage, military stores, and arms, and providing for the equipment and manning the navy.

*Treasury Estimates.* The estimates to meet these expenses, and for which Congress made appropriations, were for the army and fortifications

For the navy

These, together with the sum of

\$11,466,562

3,404,669

11,745,388

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\* Address of the minority in Congress to their constituents, June 1812.

for the support of government, reimbursing the public debt, and other purposes, made an aggregate to be provided for the year 1812 of 26,616,619

In his annual report, the secretary of the treasury stated that the amount of public debt due on the 1st of April, 1801, amounted to 79,926,999

That of this debt there had been extinguished in eleven years 46,022,810

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leaving of the old debt due on the 1st of January, 1812, 33,904,189

to which is to be added the debt contracted for the purchase of Louisiana, amounting to 11,250,000

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making the whole debt of the United States on the 1st of Jan. 1812, 45,154,189

*System of Finance for the War.* On the 17th of February the committee of ways and means reported a system of finance adapted to a state of war for three years, the outlines of which were to support the war altogether by loans, to establish a revenue which should be sufficient to meet the ordinary expenses of government, and pay the interest on the war loans. The extraordinary expenses for which it was necessary to obtain loans for the present year were estimated at eleven millions. A state of war, the committee remark, will necessarily very much diminish importations, and the revenue derived from them; to meet this event, as well as to provide for the interest on the war loans, they recommend, that the impost duties be doubled, foreign tonnage raised to one dollar and fifty cents, a direct tax of three millions, and an extensive system of internal duties and excise.

The general principles embraced in the report were adopted. The direct tax and internal duties were postponed until the next session, a loan of eleven millions was authorized at an interest not exceeding six per cent. and reimbursable in twelve years. In execution of this authority, the secretary of the



treasury directed subscriptions to be opened at the principal banks in the United States on the 1st and 2d days of May. To encourage banks to subscribe, it was provided, that the money subscribed by any bank, should remain a deposit therein, until called for by the secretary for the use of the United States; and the cashier's certificate that a sum was passed to the credit of the United States on his books, entitled the bank to that amount in United States stock bearing an interest of six per centum.

On the returns of the subscriptions, it appeared

that there had been subscribed by banks	\$4,190,000
and by individuals	1,928,000

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Leaving a balance of	4,882,000
of the eleven millions not taken up.	

To supply this deficiency, the President was authorized to issue treasury notes, payable in one year, and bearing an interest of five and two-fifths per cent. These notes were receivable in all payments at the treasury, and calculated to pass as a currency, and supersede to a certain extent, the circulation of bank bills. Congress rose on the 6th of July, after a session of eight months.

## CHAPTER III.

Situation of the United States at the Declaration of the War.—Population.—Military and Naval Power.—State of Great Britain.—Indian Population; Character.—Tecumseh.—British and Indian Alliance.—Proceedings of the Several States in relation to the War.—Louisiana.—New-York.—Ohio.—New-Jersey.—Connecticut.—Report of the Committee to the Legislature of Connecticut.—Massachusetts.—Governor Strong's Reasons for not calling out the Militia.—Opinion of the Judges of the Supreme Court on the subject.—Resolutions of Maryland on the subject of the War.—Of Pennsylvania.—Report of the Secretary at War on the Powers of Congress relative to the Militia.—Proceedings in Canada on the War.—Orders for Governor Prevost.—Governor Brock's Address to the Legislature of Upper Canada.—Address of the Legislature of Upper Canada to their Constituents.—Prince Regent's Manifesto.

*Situation of the United States.* At the period of the declaration of war, the United States had a population of eight millions. Their navy consisted of three frigates of forty-four guns, four of thirty-six, three of thirty-two, ten small vessels of war, and one hundred and sixty-five gun-boats. Their regular army amounted to three thousand effective men, and their militia to eight hundred thousand.

*Of Great Britain.* The population of the British North American colonies bordering on the United States, was estimated at four hundred thousand, their militia at forty thousand, and a regular military force of six thousand, stationed at Quebec, and other posts in the colonies. The British naval establishment at the same period, consisted of two hundred and fifty-four ships of the line of seventy-four guns and upwards, thirty-five fifties and forty-fours, two hundred and forty-seven frigates, and five hundred and six small vessels of war.\* Great Britain was engaged at the same time in an

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\* Steele's list.

expensive and hazardous war with France in the Spanish peninsula; and also in assisting Russia in defending herself against Bonaparte's invasion.

*Of the Indian Tribes.* In the unsettled territory of the United States, east of the Mississippi, was an Indian population estimated at one hundred thousand souls,\* and capable of furnishing ten thousand warriors. Most of the tribes receive annual stipends from the American government, in clothing and articles of husbandry, in consideration of portions of their land which they have ceded to the United States. Trading houses and small military posts are established in various parts of their territory, for the purpose of preserving them in order, and accommodating them with necessaries. Great pains have been taken by the government, and private charitable societies, to instruct and bring them to some degree of civilization. Still this population remain poor, improvident, and with little tillage, seeking a precarious subsistence from the woods and waters. They are naturally indolent, but when roused to action, vindictive, exterminating, and capable of enduring the greatest fatigue and deprivations. Their principles of war are to make no prisoners, but to massacre all that fall into their power, defenceless women and children, the aged and infirm, as well as the soldier in arms. Unable to meet an enemy in the open field, their war consists of ambuscade and surprise. They will traverse the wilderness for hundreds of miles, for the sake of plundering, burning, and destroying defenceless villages and their inhabitants. By their swiftness in returning, they elude pursuit: and are always a terror to the frontier inhabitants.

Within the British territories bordering on the United States, and subject to British influence, was a similar population of about one third of the amount. It would have been happy and honourable for both nations, if these children of the

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\* Morse's Gazetteer.



forest could have been suffered to remain at peace during the contest. But such was not the lot of this people.

*Tecumseh.* Tecumseh a celebrated chief of the Shawanee tribe, in the centre of the Indian population, an inveterate enemy to the Americans, had formed the plan of uniting the Indians of the west, north-west, and south, to expel the whites from the lands north-westward of the Ohio; for this purpose, he had visited the various tribes, held war-councils, and inspired them in a high degree with his own feelings. Though at this time but about forty-four years old, he had been in almost every battle since Harmer's defeat. He bore a conspicuous part in the celebrated battle of Tippecanoe. His eloquence was nervous, concise, and impressive; his words few, but always to the purpose. From his talents and exertions, he had acquired an extensive influence over the savages; and by his attendance at their councils, and persuasive eloquence, had brought them into his views.\* In this he was very much aided by a religious fanaticism, which at this time prevailed among them. A set of prophets had risen up, who persuaded the Indians that they were sent immediately from the Great Spirit to direct them. Tecumseh enlisted these impostors into his service, and induced them to proclaim to the Indians, that it was the will of the Great Spirit, that they should unite in extirpating the whites, that they would certainly be successful, and repossess their country; and that those who were slain in the attempt, would go to the land of their fathers, to a land abounding with fish and game. The character and schemes of this savage were exactly suited to the views of the British. At the commencement of the war, they took him into their service, with the rank and pay of a brigadier general; and formed an alliance with him and his associates, the object of which was to extirpate the frontier settlements; and one condition of which was, that no peace should be

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\* Brown's views of the north-western campaign.

made with the Americans, which did not embrace a restoration of the lands purchased of the Indians since 1795.\*

*Views of the State Governments in relation to the War.* Although Congress have the power of declaring war, and the necessary powers incident thereto; yet, as the United States at this period, consisted of eighteen distinct sovereignties, independent in every thing, excepting where their rights were ceded to the general government by the constitution, their co-operation in the war measures was necessary to a successful issue of the contest. The authorities of each state took the earliest opportunities after the declaration of war, to express their sentiments on the measure.

*Louisiana.* On the 30th of July, 1812, for the first time since the organization of the state government, Governor Clairborne met the legislature of Louisiana. In his address, on the subject of the war, he remarks, "the United States are engaged in a war, to the calamities of which, this section of the union is greatly exposed. We know not the moment when the enemy may enter the sanctuary of our dwellings, and convert to his use the fruits of our industry. A sense of common danger should unite every heart, and strengthen every arm. If ever war was justifiable, the one which our country has declared is that war. If ever a people had cause to repose in the confidence of their government, we are that people. Union is in itself a host; it is numbers, strength, and security. Let every man put himself in armour. When justice is the standard, Heaven is the warrior's shield." Similar sentiments were addressed by the governors of Vermont and Delaware to their legislatures.

*New-York.* On the 3d of November, Governor Tompkins, in his address to the legislature of New-York, omits any remarks on the justice or expediency of the war; but observes, "that notwithstanding differences of opinion may exist, upon

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\* Propositions of the British commissioners at Ghent.

a variety of local and other subjects, yet in the propriety of respecting and yielding our exertions to support the national will, constitutionally expressed, and to preserve the rights, character, and honour of the American nation unimpaired, we must all heartily concur."

*Ohio.* To the legislature of the state of Ohio, Governor Meigs remarks, "that the people of the United States have been driven into a necessary war, to preserve their undeniable rights. Situate as is the state of Ohio, bordered by hostile tribes and British possessions, new and weighty duties are required. The man who would desert a just cause is unworthy to defend it. Let no man shrink from his duty. From new emergencies new warriors will arise to defend the heritage of their ancestors. To our exertions, let us add a reliance on the protecting arm of the God of justice."

The executives of the states of New-Hampshire, Virginia, North and South-Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, at the first meetings of their legislatures after the declaration of war, expressed the same sentiments in the same energetic language. They spoke the sentiments of a large majority of their constituents, and the legislatures reciprocated them by acts adapted to support the operations of the general government.

*New-Jersey.* In November 1812, the legislature of New-Jersey resolved, "that the war with Great Britain into which the present administration have plunged the United States, was inexpedient, ill-timed, and most dangerously impolitic, sacrificing at once countless blessings, and incurring all the hazards, and losses of men and treasure, necessarily resulting from a contest with a nation possessing so many means to annoy and distress us :

"That as the war was improvidently commenced, so has the conduct of it proved wasteful and disastrous. The administration being evidently chargeable with the multiplied disasters which have attended our arms, and consigned to



captivity or death so many thousands of brave men without the attainment of a single important object :

“ That we view with inexpressible concern, the course of that destructive policy which leads to a connexion with the military despotism of France ; and if it should so happen, as our fears suggest, that a convention or confederacy with that power : either exists, or is intended, we do not hesitate to declare, that such an event will be considered by us more dangerous than the war itself, and as tending in its consequences to the dissolution of the United States :

“ That so long as it shall be the unhappy fate of our country to be involved in war, the people and legislature of New-Jersey will perform all their constitutional duties, embracing all the just means in their power, to preserve the union, defend the state, and the honour of their country :

“ That it is requisite, inquiry should be speedily made into the causes of the calamitous events of the war, and that the representatives of this State in Congress, be requested by all constitutional means in their power to effect this important investigation : And,

“ That a war, at the expense of American blood and treasure, to protect British subjects on the high seas from their due allegiance to their country, would be unjust, and that the abuse of this practice in regard to American seamen may be guarded against by an arrangement between the two governments, and therefore that a negotiation for a treaty of peace should be immediately opened.”

*Connecticut.* In Connecticut the quota of militia required by the act of Congress, of the 10th of April, were detached and held in readiness. A few days after the declaration of war, the executive received a letter from General Dearborn, then secretary at war, requiring four companies of the detached militia to be called into service, and stationed at New-London and New-Haven. This requisition, made immediately after the declaration of war, when no enemy was on the coast, and several months must necessarily elapse before

intelligence of the event could arrive in England, and an invading force be prepared and sent to America, appeared to the governor to be an assumption of power not warranted by the constitution; he therefore, with the advice of the council, refused a compliance; and immediately called a meeting of the legislature, to whom the subject was referred. After deliberating several days, both houses concurred in sundry resolutions, declaring that the people of this state view the war as unnecessary; without pretending, say they, to an exclusive or superior love of country to what is common to their fellow-citizens, or arrogating a pre-eminence in those virtues which adorn our history, they yield to none in attachment to the Union, or veneration of the constitution: we are not the apologists of the wrongs of foreign nations: we will never deliberate on the choice of a foreign master. The aggressions of both nations ought to have been met at the outset, by a system of defensive protection commensurate to our means, and adapted to the crisis. Other councils prevailed; and that system of commercial restrictions which before had distressed the people of Europe, was extended to our country; we became parties to the continental system of the French emperor. That nation of the two is selected which is capable of inflicting the greatest injury. In this selection we view with the deepest solicitude a tendency to entangle us in an alliance with a nation which has subverted every republic in Europe, and whose connexions, wherever formed, have been fatal to civil liberty. By the constitution the power of declaring war is vested in Congress: they have declared war against Great Britain; however much this measure is to be regretted, the general assembly, ever regardless of their duty to the general government, will perform all their obligations resulting from such an act. Their resolutions, in reference to ordering out the militia, further declare, that the only evidence of an invasion which has been furnished, is to be found in the declaration of war; and it is now claimed by the government of the United States, that when

war has been declared to exist, the militia of the several states are liable to be called into the service of the United States, to enter their forts, and there remain upon the presumption that the enemy may invade the places which they are ordered to garrison. If this claim is well founded it will follow, that there is no constitutional objection to the militia's remaining in service during the war. The war has been declared, not because the country was invaded or threatened with invasion, but to seek redress for injuries complained of, by invasion and conquest of the enemy's territories. When the militia were demanded, war had been recently declared, and was not even then known to the nation from whom the invasion was apprehended. The invasion then existing or expected, must be presumed to last as long as the war shall last; if then the militia can be constitutionally required to man the garrisons of the United States, they may continue to be so required as long as the danger exists, and to become, for all the purposes of carrying on the war within the United States, standing armies. And a declaration of war made by the administration, and announced to the governors, will substantially convert the militia into such armies. The report concludes by stating, that should there be an actual invasion of any portion of our territory, or should we be threatened with invasion, or attack from any enemies, the militia will always be prompt and zealous to defend their country. The government of this state, as it ever has been, so it always will be, ready to comply with all the constitutional requisitions of the general government. Faithful to itself and posterity, it will be faithful to the United States. The conduct of the governor in regard to the militia has been regulated by a strict regard to the rights and interests of this state, as well as to the constitution of the United States. \*

*Massachusetts.* Four days after the declaration of war, Governor Strong received a requisition from General Dear-

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\* Resolutions of the Connecticut Legislatura, August 1812.



born to order into the service of the United States forty-one companies of militia for the defence of the ports and harbours of Massachusetts, and the harbour of Newport in Rhode-Island. The governor, with the advice of his council, refused a compliance with this requisition, and communicated his views upon the subject to the executives of Connecticut and Rhode-Island. In support of his opinion the governor remarks, that the act of Congress, authorizing a detachment of one hundred thousand militia, enjoins the President to call into actual service any part or the whole of said detachment in all the exigencies provided by the constitution. From the constitution and this act of Congress the President derives all his authority to call the militia of the states into actual service; but there was no suggestion from any communication he had received, that either Massachusetts or Rhode-Island was invaded or in imminent danger of invasion. General Dearborn seems plainly to have supposed that he was authorized by virtue of the power given him by the President, to require any part or the whole of the detached militia to be called out, and marched to such places in this and other states as he may think proper. If this construction of the constitution be correct, the President and Congress will be able at any time, by declaring war, to call the whole militia of the United States into actual service, march them to such places as they think proper, and retain them in service as long as the war shall continue.

*Opinion of the Judges of the Supreme Court.* The constitution of Massachusetts authorizes the executive to require the opinion of the judges of the Supreme Court upon any important legal or constitutional questions. On this occasion the governor submitted two questions to the judges of that court. 1st. Whether the commanders in chief of the militia of the several states have a right to determine whether any of the exigencies contemplated by the constitution of the United States exist, so as to require them to place the militia, or any part of it, in the service of the United States, at the

request of the President, to be commanded by him pursuant to acts of Congress. 2d. Whether when either of the exigencies exist authorizing the employment of the militia in the service of the United States, they can be lawfully commanded by any officers but of the militia, except by the President of the United States.

In answer to these questions, Judges Parsons, Sewal, and Parker, remark, after reciting the clauses of the constitution relating to the subject, that no power is given either to the President or Congress, to determine that either of the exigencies does in fact exist; as this power is not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited to the states, it is reserved to the states respectively, and from the nature of the power, must be exercised by those with whom the states have intrusted the chief command of the militia. It is the duty of the commanders to execute this important trust agreeably to the laws of their several states, without reference to the laws or officers of the United States, in all cases except those specially provided by the federal constitution. They must therefore determine when either of the special cases exist, obliging them to relinquish this trust, and to render themselves and the militia subject to the command of the President.

In answer to the second question, they say that they know of no constitutional provision authorizing any officer of the army of the United States to command the militia, or any officer of the militia to command the army of the United States. The union of the militia in the actual service of the United States, with the troops of the United States, seems to be a case not provided for or contemplated in the constitution. Congress may provide laws for the government of the militia when in actual service, but to extend this power to the placing them under the command of an officer not of the militia, except the President would render nugatory the provision of the constitution, that the militia are to have officers appointed by

the states.\* These views of the executive, supported by the judiciary, were approved by the legislature of Massachusetts.

*Rhode-Island.* The same course of proceedings was adopted by the constituted authorities of Rhode-Island. Governor Jones, in his address to the legislature, states, that the declaration of war had placed that state in a very perilous situation, having an extensive sea-coast accessible to a naval force. The principal part of the United States troops, that were thought necessary in time of peace have been withdrawn from the state, and the forts and batteries are very illy supplied with the munitions of war.

*Maryland.* In the house of delegates in the state of Maryland, resolutions were passed, 41 yeas, 21 nays, declaring, "that a defensive war ought to be prosecuted and sustained at all hazards, and for this that they were prepared at all times to undergo any privations, and to devote their lives and fortunes to the public service:

"That offensive war is incompatible with the principles of republicanism, subversive of the ends of all just government, and repugnant to the best interests of the United States:

"That the declaration of war against Great Britain by a small majority of the Congress of the United States, was unwise and impolitic, and if unsuccessful, the grand object contended for must be abandoned:

"That the conduct of the governors of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island, respecting the quota of militia demanded of them, was constitutional, and merited their decided approbation:

"That a navy is the kind of national defence least dangerous to liberty, and most compatible with the genius, habits, and interests of the people of the United States; and while they view with delight and admiration, the heroism of Hull, Decatur, and Jones, and their gallant associates, they are furnish-

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\* Massachusetts reports, vol. 8.



ed with additional motives for approbating the policy of augmenting the naval forces of the country."

In the senate, resolutions of an opposite character were passed, approving the war and the conduct of the government, and pledging themselves for its support.

*Pennsylvania.* Both houses of the legislature of Pennsylvania resolved,

"That the declaration of war was the result of solemn deliberation, sound wisdom, and imperious necessity :

"That they contemplate with painful regret the refusal of the executive authorities of some of the states to furnish, on the President's demand, their quota of militia for the defence of the sea-coast, and with confidence expect from the national legislature a prompt attention to this alarming and unexpected occurrence."

*Militia Question.* The constitutional questions on the subject of the militia, now brought into view and at issue, between the general government and the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island, were of vital importance. Without an efficient army, the safety of the nation rested at this period on the militia. If they were to be considered as eighteen distinct independent bodies of troops acting without concert, and subject to be called into service only when the executives of the several states deemed it necessary, and their operations not subject to the direction of one head, it was evident their services could be of very little use in defending the country. War having been declared, though against the opinion of a considerable minority, it was expected that that minority would have so far acquiesced as to have performed all their constitutional obligations. The social compact requires this from all the citizens of the state. The principal object of forming the national constitution was the defence of the country ; and its physical force was placed in the hands of the general government for that purpose. How then could it be doubted but that the power of judging when danger existed which required the calling forth of this force, and of directing

its operations, was lodged in the same hands? The national authorities viewed the subject with deep interest. The President, in his message to Congress of the 4th of November, 1812, on this subject, remarks, that among the incidents to the measures of the war, he is constrained to advert to the refusal of the governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut to furnish the required detachments of militia for the defence of the maritime frontier. The refusal was founded upon a novel and and unfortunate exposition of the constitution relating to the militia. It is obvious, that if the authority of the United States to call into service and command the militia for the public defence, can be frustrated even in a state of declared war, and of course under apprehensions of invasion preceding war, they are not one nation for the purpose most of all requiring it. The public safety will then have no other resource than in those large and permanent military establishments, which are forbidden by the principles of our free government, and against the necessity of which the militia were meant to be a constitutional bulwark.

*Monroe's Views.* In a subsequent communication of the acting secretary of war, to a committee of the senate in answer to their inquiries upon the subject, Mr. Monroe fully and ably explained the views of the executive. The power which is given to Congress, he observes, by the people of the United States, to provide for calling forth the militia for the purposes specified in the constitution, is unconditional. It is a complete power vested in the national government, extending to all these purposes. If it was dependent on the assent of the executives of the individual states it might be entirely frustrated. The character of the government would undergo an entire and radical change. The state executives might deny that the case had occurred which justified the call, and withhold the militia from the service of the general government. It was obviously the intention of the framers of the constitution, that these powers vested in the general government should be independent of the state authorities, and ade-

quate to the ends proposed. Terms more comprehensive than those which have been used cannot well be conceived. Congress have a right to provide for calling forth the militia to repel invasion. This right, by fair construction, is an exemplification of the power over the militia, to enable the general government to prosecute the war with effect, and not the limitations of it by strict construction to the special case of a descent of the enemy on any particular part of the territory. War exists. The enemy is powerful; his preparations are extensive; we may expect his attacks in many quarters. Shall we remain inactive spectators of the danger which surround us, without making the arrangements suggested by an ordinary foresight for our defence? A regular army, in sufficient extent, does not exist. The militia is the principal resource. Is it possible that a free people could thus intentionally trammel a government which they had created for the purpose of sustaining them in their just rank, and in the enjoyment of all their rights as a nation against the encroachments of other powers, more especially just after they had experienced that reliance could not be placed on the states individually, and that without a general government, thus endowed, their best interests would be sacrificed, and even their independence rendered insecure. A necessary consequence of so complete and absolute a restraint on the power of the general government over the militia, would be to force the United States to resort to standing armies for all national purposes. A policy so absurd, and fraught with mischief, ought not to be imputed to a free people in this enlightened age. Such a construction of the constitution is repugnant to the highest interests of the people, to the unequivocal intention of its framers, and to the just and obvious import of the instrument itself. If any doubt could exist on this subject on general principles, it is taken away by that clause in the constitution which provides, that Congress shall have power to pass all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers vested in the general government. The



secretary then proceeds to show, by historical facts, that such has been the construction of the constitution by the legislative and executive authorities, and acquiesced in by the states from its commencement.

Equally unfounded, he observes, is the other objection of the executives, that when the militia are called into the service of the United States, no officer of the regular army or other person not a militia officer, except the President of the United States in person, has a right to command them. When the militia are called into the service of the United States, all state authority over them ceases. They constitute a part of the national force, and are supported and paid by the nation; and their operations directed by the national government. The circumstance that the officers of the militia are appointed by, and trained under the authority of, the state, has no effect on the character and duties of the militia when called into the service of the United States. When thus called out, a proper proportion of militia officers are called with them; a colonel to a regiment, and a brigadier to a brigade, and a major general to a division: the whole to be received into the pay and service of the United States, and subject in their general operations to the direction of such officers as the President shall appoint. That the President alone has a right to command the militia in person, and that no officer of the regular army in his absence can take the command, is a construction for which the constitution furnishes no pretext. Under the commander, all the officers of every species of service, regular and militia, acting together, take rank by common consent and in perfect harmony, according to one of the articles of war, which provides that the officers of the regular army shall take rank of those of the militia of the same grade, without regard to the dates of their commission, and officers of the militia of every grade take rank of all officers of the regular army of inferior grade. When these troops serve together, they constitute one national force. The idea advanced by the honourable judges of Massachusetts, the secretary observes, that

where the regular troops and militia act together under the command of the President, and he withdraws, there can be no chief commander over the whole, but are to be considered as independent, allied forces, pushes the doctrine of state rights much farther than it was ever known to be carried before. It is only in the case of powers who are completely independent of each other, and who maintain armies, and prosecute war against a common enemy, for distinct objects, that this doctrine can apply. It does not apply to the case of one independent power, who takes into its service the troops of another; for then the command is always at the disposal of the power making war, and employing such troops. Much less does it apply to the case where there is but one power and one government; and the troops, whether regulars or militia, constitute but one people, and are, in fact, countrymen, brethren, and friends. The judicious selection of the chief commander for any important station is an object of high interest to the nation. Success often depends upon it; and it is wisely vested in the President by the powers given him as chief executive of the United States.\* The legislative and executive authorities of the general government, and of all the states except Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island, adopted the principles contained in the secretary's report respecting the militia, and steadily adhered to them through the war.

*Proceedings in Canada.* The inhabitants of the Canadas, many of whom were emigrants from the United States, and were still connected by ties of affection, business, and blood, with their citizens, observed with anxiety the progress of the dispute between their parent country and the American government; and when they saw it terminate in a war, the avowed object of which was the conquest of their country, they were filled with the most alarming apprehensions. The executive authorities of the provinces, Britons by birth, and

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\* Report of Secretary of War to Committee of Senate.

deriving their powers from the crown, adopted vigorous measures to meet the crisis, and the great body of the inhabitants seconded their efforts.

Immediately on the declaration of war, the governor general of the Canadas published the following regulations relative to American citizens resident in the British colonies. All who shall refuse to take the oath of allegiance, and to bear arms, must leave the country, unless they obtain the governor's permission to remain for a limited time to settle their affairs.

All American citizens having visible property and of good character, who will take the oath of allegiance, with the exception of bearing arms against the United States, shall be allowed to remain, subject to leave the province whenever the government shall deem it necessary.

All American subjects being immediate grantees of the crown shall be allowed to remain, but must take the general oath of allegiance, and consequently be subject to bear arms.

Any American subject of good character may, if approved by a committee of the executive council, be allowed to remain, on taking the oath of allegiance before the police magistrate, and consenting to bear arms. Soon afterwards another order was published, directing all American citizens who had not or should not be admitted to take the oath of allegiance and to bear arms, to depart the province before the 15th of the following October, and all who should be found within the province after that time, without having taken such oath, were to be treated as prisoners of war; and no persons whatever were allowed to go from the province to the United States, without special license from the governor.

On receiving intelligence of the declaration of war, General Brock, governor of Upper Canada, assembled the legislature of that province on the 22d of July, and addressed them, stating their province was invaded by an enemy, whose

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\* Governor Prevost's orders.



avowed object was its entire conquest. That the voice of loyalty, as well as interest, called aloud upon every person to defend his country. That the militia had obeyed that voice, and evinced by the promptitude and loyalty of their conduct, that they were worthy of the king whom they serve, and the constitution they enjoy; and recommending a revision of the militia laws, and the passing of acts for the punishment of spies and traitors.

The legislature zealously seconded the views of the governor, and at the close of the session published an address to their constituents, observing that the declaration of war when first announced, appeared to be an act of such astonishing folly and desperation as to be altogether incredible. It not only excited the greatest surprise among the inhabitants of this province, but also among a great majority of our enemies. That a government professing to be the friend of man, and the great supporter of his liberty and independence, should light up the torch of war against the only nation that stands between itself and destruction, exhibited a degree of infatuation and madness altogether incomprehensible. This, war on the part of the United States, includes an alliance with the French usurper, whose dreadful policy has destroyed all that is great and good, venerable and holy, on the continent of Europe. With joy we behold the spirit of loyalty burst forth in all its ancient splendour. The militia, in all parts of the province, have volunteered their services with acclamation, and displayed a degree of energy worthy of the British name. Our enemies have indeed boasted that they can subdue the country by proclamation; but it is our part to prove to them, that they are mistaken. When men are called upon to defend every thing they hold precious, their wives and children, their friends and possessions, they will not be easily frightened by menaces, or conquered by force. The population are decidedly hostile, and the few who may be otherwise inclined, will find it their safety and interest to be faithful. If there be any person so base and

degenerate as to join the enemy, after having taken the oath of allegiance, he forfeits not only his property, but his life. The British government never will make peace with the American states without a full and ample indemnification, for all the depredations committed in this country. Nor will we permit a single traitor ever to return. Let those who have come from the neighbouring states consider this well, and assure themselves that as we are eager to reward loyalty, so we shall not be slow to punish treachery.\*

*British Manifesto.* On the 10th of January, 1813, the prince regent published a declaration, justifying the conduct of Great Britain towards the United States. The manifesto attempts to prove the French to be the first aggressors on neutral rights, and that the British orders in council are justifiable on the principles of retaliation: that the French decrees have never been repealed: that the course the American government has pursued towards the belligerents, has been that of hostility towards Great Britain, and partiality towards France: that America has in every instance seconded the views, and favoured the projects of the French government against England. The right of impressment, the manifesto maintains, results necessarily from the doctrine of natural allegiance: that no sufficient substitute has been offered on the part of America, which should secure to the British the services of her native subjects: that this practice cannot be dispensed with, without exposing to danger the foundation of their maritime strength.

“The real origin of the present contest,” the manifesto concludes, “is to be found in the spirit which has long unhappily actuated the councils of the United States; their marked partiality in palliating and assisting the aggressive tyranny of France, their systematic endeavours to inflame their people against the defensive means of Great Britain, their ungenerous conduct towards Spain, the intimate ally of Great Britain,

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\* Address of the legislature of Upper Canada to their constituents.

and their unworthy desertion of the cause of other neutral nations. It is through the prevalence of such councils that America has been associated in policy with France, and committed in war against Great Britain. And under what conduct, on the part of France, has the government of the United States lent itself to the enemy? The contemptuous violation of the commercial treaty of 1800; the treacherous seizure of American vessels and cargoes in all harbours subject to the control of the French arms; the tyrannical principles of the Berlin and Milan decrees, and the confiscations under them; the subsequent condemnation under the Rambouillet decree antedated or concealed to render it more effectual; the French commercial regulations which render the traffic of the United States with France almost illusory; the burning of their merchant ships at sea long after the repeal of the French decrees. All these acts of violence on the part of France, produce from the government of the United States only such complaints as end in acquiescence and submission, or are accompanied by suggestions for enabling France to give the semblance of a legal form to her usurpations, by converting them into municipal regulations. This disposition of the government of the United States, this complete subserviency to the ruler of France, this hostile temper towards Great Britain, are evident in almost every page of the official correspondence of the American with the French government. Against this course of conduct, the real cause of the present war, the prince regent solemnly protests. While contending against France, in defence not only of the liberties of Great Britain, but of the world, his royal highness was entitled to look out for a far different result. From their common origin, from their common interests, and from their professed principles of freedom and independence, the United States were the last power in which Great Britain could have expected to find a willing instrument and abettor of French tyranny. Disappointed in this, his just expectation, the prince regent will still pursue the policy which the British government has so long and invaria-

bly maintained, in repelling injustice, and supporting the general rights of nations. And under the favour of Providence, relying on the justice of his cause, and the tried loyalty and firmness of the British nation, his royal highness confidently looks forward to a successful issue of the contest in which he has thus been impelled most reluctantly to engage.”\*

With these views of their respective claims, the parties staked their rights on the issue of the contest.

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\* Prince regent's manifesto, January 1813.





## CHAPTER IV.

**Plan of Military Operations for the Campaign of 1812.**—General Hull appointed to the Command of the Northern Army.—Rendezvous at Urbanna.—Their March to the Rapids of the Miami.—A Sloop, with Gen. Hull's Baggage and Papers and the Hospital Stores, taken at Malden.—Arrival of the Army at Detroit.—Invasion of Canada.—Gen. Hull's Proclamation.—Head-Quarters at Sandwich.—Col. M'Arthur's Expedition to the Thames.—Col. Cass proceeds to the River Auxlauds.—Main Body return to Detroit.—Capt. Brush arrives at the River Raisin with Supplies.—Major Vanhorn detached to escort him.—Surprised by an Ambuscade and defeated.—Col. Miller detached to the same place.—Battle of Maguago.—Col. Miller returns.—Cols. M'Arthur and Cass detached to the same place; ordered to return.—General Brock's Address to the Canadians.—Arrives with Reinforcements at Malden.—Bombards the Fort from the opposite Bank.—Crosses the River and advances to assault the Fort.—Gen. Hull capitulates.—American Forces and Property taken.—British Forces.—Court Martial ordered.—Charges and Specifications against Gen. Hull.—His Defence.—Sentence of the Court.

*Plan of the Campaign of 1812.* THE plan of military operations at the commencement of the war, on the part of the United States, was to garrison and defend the sea-board principally by occasional calls of the neighbouring militia, aided by a few regular troops; the whole to be under the command of generals of the regular army, stationed at the most important points. With the remaining regular forces, together with such volunteers as could be procured, and the militia, to attack the British posts in Upper Canada, and subdue them. This province borders on the United States from the neighbourhood of Montreal westerly to an indefinite extent, and is separated from them by the waters of the St. Lawrence and the lakes, to the western extremity of the Lake of the Woods; along the shores of the lakes, and banks of the rivers, com-

municating with them, is a fine tract of country, containing one hundred thousand inhabitants, principally emigrants from the United States, who have removed there since the war of the revolution. Northerly and westerly of these settlements is an immense wilderness thinly inhabited by Indians. The settlement of white inhabitants extends westward as far as the Detroit river, which conveys the waters of lake Huron to lake Erie. At the mouth of this river is the villiage of Amherstburgh, furnishing one of the best harbours on the lake; and the military post of Malden, from whence the Indians of the north and west are supplied with goods, arms, and ammunition, and encouraged in acts of hostility against the frontier inhabitants of the United States. To break up this establishment, and subdue the province, was the first object of the military operations on the Canada border. It was confidently expected that the inhabitants needed only a demonstration of a respectable military force, and an assurance of protection, to induce them to revolt from the British, and join the American standard. This province being conquered, it was designed to push eastward to Montreal.

*Hull's Expedition.* With these views, William Hull, governor of the Michigan territory had been appointed a brigadier general, and on the 25th of May took command of the north-western troops destined for the operations on Canada. In the beginning of June he rendezvoused at Urbanna, in the state of Ohio. Preparatory to his march to Detroit, his force consisted of five hundred regulars, and twelve hundred Ohio volunteers, under the command of Cols. M'Arthur and Cass. The distance from Urbanna to Detroit is one hundred and ninety miles, the greater part of the way through a trackless wilderness, uninhabited except by a few hostile Indians. Their rout lay in a north-westerly direction across the highlands which divide the waters of lake Erie from the Ohio, and along the Miami of the lake. The morasses and swamps that lay in their rout, and the general ruggedness of the way, presented many difficulties. But the ardour of fresh troops

eager for conquest, overcame them, and without any serious losses they arrived on the last of June at the rapids of the Miami, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles from Urbanna. The supplies for the army were to be transported the greater part of this distance on pack-horses subject to the attacks of the neighbouring savages. From Miami to Detroit is navigable water; here the army rested several days, and General Hull procured a sloop and a boat, and put his baggage, containing his commission and instructions from the war department, with the baggage of most of the officers and the hospital stores on board the sloop, and the sick on board the boat for Detroit. The ship channel being on the Canada side, the sloop necessarily passed under the guns of Malden, and being unarmed, was taken without resistance. This capture was a serious loss to the Americans, as the hospital stores could not be seasonably supplied, and of important benefit to the British, as it informed them of the strength, views, and objects of their enemy. The boat kept under the western shore and arrived in safety. The army now disencumbered of their sick and baggage, proceeded along the margin of the lake and river to Detroit, a distance of seventy miles.

*Detroit.* This is an ancient French settlement, on the west bank of Detroit river, eighteen miles from its entrance into lake Erie, and nine from the out-let of lake St. Clair. It contains about one thousand inhabitants and is the capital of the Michigan territory, the whole of which contains about six thousand French and American settlers, along the banks of the Detroit, Huron, and Raisin rivers, and along the shores of lakes Erie and Huron. Detroit is one of the most ancient military posts in the western country. It was early established by the French as a check upon the surrounding Indians, and had been repaired and strengthened by the Americans. The military posts of Mackinaw and fort Dearborne were also within the limits of Gen. Hull's command.

*Mackinaw.* The post of Mackinaw is situated upon the island of Michilimackinac in the straits between lake Hu-



ron and Michigan, and commands that passage. On this island is the largest settlement in the Michigan territory, except Detroit. On the 17th of July the garrison was invested by a party of Canadians and Indians, consisting of one thousand men from St. Josephs, a British post at the entrance of lake Superior. The inhabitants had taken refuge in the fort at the appearance of the enemy. The garrison at this time consisted only of a company of sixty men, under the command of Capt. Hanks; they had received no reinforcements, nor any information of the declaration of war, and were wholly unprepared to resist such a force. They surrendered on a stipulation that the lives of the garrison and inhabitants should be spared.\* The capture of this post, and the superiority of the British on the western lakes gave them the complete control of the Indians, and enabled them to bring down upon Detroit and the southern parts of the Michigan territory as many Indian forces as they chose.

*Fort Dearborne.* Fort Dearborne is at the mouth of the Chicago river, on the south-western border of lake Michigan, on a territory of six miles square, purchased of the Potawatamies for the purpose of establishing a trading factory and a military post. On this territory was a considerable settlement of white inhabitants. This post at the declaration of war was garrisoned by a company of sixty men. Considering its remote situation, General Hull deemed it untenable, and had given orders to the commandant, Captain Heald, to evacuate it and repair to Detroit. To accomplish this, the garrison would have to traverse two hundred miles of wilderness, inhabited only by hostile savages. The Indians having obtained notice that the fort was about to be abandoned, came in in great numbers, and demanded the goods and provisions in store. Captain Heald after making a distribution among them, on the 15th of August left the fort with fifty-four regulars, twelve militia and twenty-five women and children, and

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\* Captain Hanks's report

proceeded along the beach about two miles, when he was surrounded and attacked by four hundred Indians. He immediately marched up the bank, and charged those in front, who gave way, and joined the flanks. The Indians got possession of all the horses, baggage, and provisions, belonging to the company. Captain Heald, after having lost in the action thirty-eight men, and fourteen women and children, surrendered upon the assurance that the lives of the remainder should be spared. The Indians took their prisoners back to their encampment near the fort, distributed the survivors among the tribes, and set fire to the fort. Captain Heald and his wife were severely wounded; after their recovery they were permitted to proceed to Michillimackinac.

*Hull's Invasion.* General Hull, on his arrival at Detroit was joined by the Michigan militia; and depending on the co-operation of General Dearborn on the Niagara frontier, on the 12th of July made his descent on Canada. He crossed the river about three miles below the town, and established his head quarters at Sandwich, a village on the opposite bank. Here he issued a proclamation offering fraternity, peace, and liberty, to the Canadians who would remain at home, and threatening utter extermination to such as should be found in arms associated with the Indians: and declaring that he commanded a force sufficient to look down all opposition, but which was only the van of a much greater. \*

Induced by this proclamation and the appearance of a respectable army on their territory, several hundred Canadian militia deserted the British standard, and joined the Americans, or returned to their homes under General Hull's protection.

Colonel M'Arthur, with a detachment of the Ohio militia, proceeded along the banks of the Thames, a river which falls into lake St. Clair from the east, and on the borders of which

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\* General Hull's proclamation.

is a considerable settlement of white inhabitants. Here he found and captured a large quantity of flour, blankets, and ammunition, destined for the garrison at Malden, and returned to head-quarters. The British, aware of the objects of Hull, had collected considerable reinforcements of Canadian militia and Indians, and strengthened their garrison. This post was only twelve miles below Hull's encampment. Had the army, on their entrance into Canada, been led immediately against it, there is little doubt but it would have been easily taken ; but every day's delay gave the enemy strength. Colonel Cass, with a detachment of three hundred men, was despatched from Sandwich to reconnoitre the post ; on arriving at the river Aux Canerds, four miles from Malden, they found the bridge in possession of the British ; and, after some skirmishing, returned. The planks of the bridge were then taken up by the British, and a breast-work formed of them on the left bank. Excepting these expeditions of trifling consequence, General Hull remained inactive in his camp at Sandwich until the 8th of August, when he gave orders for the main body to recross the river, and retire to Detroit. A detachment of three hundred men, under the command of Major Denny of the Ohio volunteers, remained in possession of Sandwich until the 12th, when they abandoned it and rejoined the main body. Nothing could exceed the chagrin and disappointment of the troops on quitting Canada. They had been taught to believe it to be an easy conquest. Success had attended their operations so far as they had been called to act, and now the object was given up without an effort. The unhappy Canadians, who had been induced by the general's proclamation to accept his protection, were abandoned to the vengeance of the British arms.

By the exertions of the governor of Ohio, a reinforcement of one hundred and fifty volunteers from that state, with large supplies of provisions, under the command of Captain Brush, had been ordered to Detroit. This corps arrived at the river Raisin, thirty-six miles below, the last of July. Here

Captain Brush received orders from General Hull, to fortify himself, and remain until he should receive an escort from his camp. On the 4th of August, Major Vanhorn, with two hundred Ohio militia, was ordered on this service. At Brownstown, opposite Malden, a large body of Indians had formed an ambuscade, and the detachment receiving an unexpected and heavy fire, broke and retreated in disorder. Seventeen, among whom were seven officers, were killed, and thirty wounded.

On the 8th, six hundred men, under Colonel Miller, were detached for the same object. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the ninth, the van of the detachment commanded by Captain Snelling, had advanced to Maguago, fourteen miles from Detroit, and were here attacked by an extensive line of British and Indians, defended by a breast-work of logs. Captain Snelling gallantly maintained his position until Colonel Miller formed his line, when he gave a general discharge of musketry, and charged them with the bayonet. The whole line of British and Indians gave way and commenced a retreat. They were pursued in a most vigorous manner for two miles; and the pursuit discontinued only on account of the fatigue of the troops and the apprehensions of an ambuscade in the night. The Indians on the left, under the command of Tecumseh, fought with great obstinacy, and retired only at the point of the bayonet. The American loss was eighteen killed, and fifty-eight wounded. Among the wounded were Captain Baker of the 1st regiment, and Lieutenants Larrabee and Peters of the 4th. The detachment on the 10th returned to Detroit, without effecting the object.

*Governor Brock's Proclamation.* In the mean time, Governor Brock, hearing of the invasion of his province, and the proclamation of General Hull, prorogued the parliament of Upper Canada, then convened at York, and issued a counter address to the inhabitants, informing them that the unprovoked declaration of war had been immediately followed by the actual invasion of the province, in a remote frontier of the western



district, by a detachment of the armed force of the United States. That the commanding officer of that detachment had thought proper to invite his majesty's subjects, not merely to a quiet and unresisting submission, but insults them with a call to seek voluntarily the protection of his government. Without condescending to repeat the illiberal epithets bestowed by the author of that appeal on the administration of his majesty's government, the general remarks, "let every inhabitant of the province seek the refutation of the slander in a review of his own circumstances. Where is the Canadian who can truly affirm, that he has been injured in his person, liberty, or property? Where is to be found in any part of the world, a growth so rapid in wealth as this colony exhibits? Settled not thirty years since by a band of veterans, exiled from their former possessions on account of their loyalty, not a descendant of that brave people is to be found, who, under the fostering liberality of his sovereign, has not acquired property and means of enjoyment superior to his ancestors?"

This prosperity could not have been attained, had not the maritime power of the mother country secured to its colonists a safe access to every market where the produce of their labour was in demand. The immediate consequence of a separation from Great Britain, must be the loss of this inestimable advantage. And what is offered in exchange? To become a territory of the United States, and share with them that exclusion from the ocean, which the policy of their government enforces.

Every Canadian freeholder is, by deliberative choice, bound by the most solemn oaths to defend the monarchy, as well as his own property. To shrink from that engagement is treason not to be forgiven. Let no man suppose, that if in this unexpected struggle, his majesty's arms should be compelled to yield to an overwhelming force, the province will be eventually abandoned.

The endeared relations of its first settlers, the intrinsic value of its commerce, and the pretensions of its powerful rival to repossess the Canadas, are pledges that no peace will be established with the United States, of which the restoration of these provinces does not make the most prominent condition.

Be not dismayed at the unjustifiable threat, that no quarter should be given, should an Indian appear in the ranks. The brave bands of natives which inhabit this colony, were for like his majesty's subjects, punished for their zeal and fidelity, by the loss of their possessions in the late colonies, and rewarded by his majesty with lands of superior value in this province. The faith of the British government has never yet been violated. They feel that the soil they inherit is to them and their posterity, protected from the base arts so frequently devised to overreach their simplicity. By what new principle are they to be prevented from defending their property? If their warfare, from being different from that of white people, is more terrific to the enemy; let him retrace his steps. They seek him not, and cannot expect to find women and children in an invading army. The Indians are men, and have equal rights with all other men to defend themselves and their property when invaded; more especially when they find in the enemy's camp, a ferocious and mortal foe, using the same warfare, which the American commander affects to despise. This inconsistent and unjustifiable threat of refusing quarter, for such cause as being found in arms with a brother sufferer in defence of invaded rights, must be exercised with the certain assurance of retaliation, not only in the limited operations of the war in this part of the king's dominions, but in every quarter of the globe. Great Britain will consider the execution of this inhuman threat, as deliberate murder, for which every subject of the offending power must make expiation.\*

With this address the spirit of the Canadians was roused to action, and General Brock pressed on to Malden, with rein-

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\* Governor Brock's address to the Canadians.

forcements constantly increasing, to meet the American general in the field, and convince him that he was as much his superior in deeds, as in proclamations. Governor Brock had been educated in arms, and had sustained a distinguished rank and character in the army of Egypt. He arrived at Malden with reinforcements in high spirits on the 13th, just as the American troops retired from the Canadian shore, dispirited, disappointed, and disgusted with their commander. On the 15th, he planted batteries on the bank of the river opposite the fortress of Detroit, and sent a summons to the American general to surrender, stating that he should otherwise be unable to restrain the fury of the savages. This was answered by a spirited refusal, and a declaration that the fort and town would be defended to the last extremity. The firing from the batteries and the fort immediately commenced, and continued with little interruption, and without much effect, until the next day. The alarm and consternation of General Hull had now become extreme, and appeared in a series of irregular and incoherent measures. On the 12th, the field officers suspecting the general intended a surrender of the fort, had determined on his arrest. This was prevented in consequence of Cols. M<sup>c</sup>Arthur and Cass, two very active, intelligent, and spirited officers, being detached on the 13th with four hundred men, on a third expedition to the river Raisin. They advanced about fourteen miles, when on the 15th they received orders to return. At daylight on the 16th, the British troops commenced crossing the river at Spring Wells, three miles below the town, under cover of two ships of war. They accomplished their landing by seven o'clock without opposition, and took up their line of march in close columns of platoons, twelve in front, towards the fort along the bank of the river. The fourth regiment of United States troops was stationed in the fort; the Ohio volunteers and a part of the Michigan militia behind the pickets; in a situation where the whole flank of the enemy would have been exposed. The residue of the militia were in the upper part of the town to resist the incursions

of the savages. Two twenty-four pounders loaded with grape were posted on a commanding eminence ready to sweep the advancing columns. Cols. M'Arthur and Cass had arrived within view of Detroit ready to act on the rear of the enemy. In this situation the troops waited in eager expectation the advance of the British, anticipating a brilliant victory.

*Surrender of Detroit.* When the head of the British columns had advanced within five hundred yards of the line, and the artillery ready to sweep their ranks, orders were given for the troops to retire into the fort, and for the artillery not to fire. A white flag was hoisted. A British officer rode up to inquire the cause. A communication passed between the commanding generals which soon ended in a capitulation.\* The fortress of Detroit, with all the public stores, property, and documents of every kind, were surrendered. The troops were made prisoners of war. The detachment under M'Arthur and Cass, and the troops at the river Raisin, were included in the capitulation. On the 17th, General Brock despatched a flag to Captain Brush with the terms. He immediately called a council of his officers, who determined that they were not bound by the capitulation, and advised to break up the camp and return. In pursuance of their advice, Captain Brush immediately broke up his camp, took with him what public stores and property he could, and commenced his retreat to Ohio. The Michigan militia who had not joined the army were paroled, on condition of not serving during the present war. No provision was made for the unfortunate Canadians who had joined General Hull, or accepted his protection. They were left exposed to suffer as traitors; nine were executed at one time, and several more afterwards. General Hull in this measure took counsel only from his own fears. He held no council of war, knowing that all his officers would be opposed to the surrender. In his official report he expressly exempts them from any share in the disgraceful transaction.

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\* Col. Cass' letter to the secretary of war.



The British force at Malden at the time General Hull entered Canada, and until the 12th of August, consisted of one hundred regular troops, four hundred Canadian militia, and several hundred Indians. After the arrival of General Brock with his reinforcements, the whole amounted to three hundred and thirty regulars, four hundred militia, and six hundred Indians. The troops surrendered by General Hull amounted to twenty-five hundred, consisting of two troops of cavalry, one company of artillery, the fourth United States regiment, and detachments from the first and third; three regiments of Ohio volunteers, and one regiment of Michigan militia, amounting to about twelve hundred. By this capitulation the British obtained 2500 muskets stacked on the esplanade at the time of the surrender, 450 brought in by the detachment under M'Arthur and Cass, 700 received from the Michigan militia, thirty-three pieces of ordnance, one thousand rounds of fixed ammunition, 200 tons of ball, 200 cartridges of grape shot, 75,000 musket cartridges made up, 24 rounds in the possession of each man, 60 barrels of gunpowder, 150 tons of lead, provisions for the army for 25 days in the fort, and a large escort at the river Raisin.\*

An event so disgraceful to the American arms did not fail to excite universal indignation. When M'Arthur's sword was demanded, he indignantly broke it, tore the epaulets from his shoulders, and threw himself on the ground. As soon as General Hull was exchanged, a court martial was ordered upon his conduct, and held at Albany on the 3d of January 1814.

*General Hull's Trial.* Major General Henry Dearborn, President; members, Brigadier Generals Bloomfield, Parker, and Covington. Colonels Fenwick, Carberney, and Irvine. Lieutenant Colonels Dennis, Conner, Davis, Scott, and Stewart. Alexander J. Dallas, special judge advocate.

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\* Report of the British quarter-master.

*Charges.* The charges filed against him were,

I. Treason.

II. Cowardice.

III. Neglect of duty and unofficerlike conduct, from the 9th of April to the 16th of August, 1812.

The facts adduced in support of the first charge, were, that on the 1st July, at the foot of the rapids of the Miami, he put on board an unarmed vessel his baggage, and papers, containing his instructions and correspondence with the secretary of war, and the muster-rolls of the army, and the sick and hospital stores, and sent her within reach of the British fortress at Malden, with a traitorous design of having her taken by the enemy, and in consequence thereof she was captured.

That he traitorously neglected and refused to attack Malden, when it might have been easily taken; and abandoned his post at Sandwich, and traitorously surrendered Detroit when it might and ought to have been defended, with a view to betray the United States, and aid and comfort the enemy.

The facts adduced in support of the second charge, were, that he neglected to attack Malden, and quitted his position at Sandwich, without any just cause.

That during the term of the bombardment of the fort on the 15th of August, he manifested great fear and apprehension of personal danger, by a course of conduct and conversation evincing personal alarm, agitation of mind, and deprivation of judgment; and by timid and cowardly actions and expressions in the presence of the officers and soldiers, in the streets of the town, and in the fortress of Detroit, gave a fatal encouragement to the enemy, and afforded a most pernicious example to the American troops.

That the same course of conduct was pursued by him after the British landed at Spring Wells. That he neglected to reconnoitre and attack the enemy on their approach to the fort; avoided all personal danger; withdrew from his troops to a place of safety; issued incoherent and contradictory or-

ders ; and surrendered the army, fortress, town, and territory, to an inferior force, and without any justifiable cause.

The same facts were adduced in support of the third charge, as of the two others; and in addition to them, that he neglected to inspect, review, and train the army, and to prepare in due form and time, and communicate to his troops, an order of battle; that he neglected to put the works of the fort in repair, and to put the artillery in order:

That he neglected to keep open a communication between Detroit and the river Raisin, and sent out detachments manifestly insufficient for the object, and neglected to supply them with provisions to enable them to accomplish the service on which they were detached.

*Defence.* On the charge of treason, General Hull objected to the jurisdiction of the court, as being a matter of civil cognizance only.

On the other charges his defence was, his general good character and conduct as an officer in the revolutionary army, and since. That the means furnished him for this expedition were inadequate to the attainment of the object; the British having the command of the lake, no supplies could be obtained but only on pack-horses, and through a wilderness of two hundred miles in extent from the settled parts of the state of Ohio. That the fall of Michillimackinac, for which he was not answerable, had enabled the British to bring down upon him the whole Indian force of the north-west, and cut off all communication between him and his resources; that no reinforcements or supplies, for which he had repeatedly sent, had reached, or could reach him; that the garrison had but a few days provisions on hand, and that a capitulation was necessary, to save them and the inhabitants of the territory from massacre.

On the 26th of March, after a session, with little interruption, of eighty days, the court came to a final result.

*Sentence.* On the first charge, they determined they had not jurisdiction; but remark, that the evidence upon the sub-

ject having been publicly given, they deem it proper in justice to the accused to say, that they do not believe from any thing that has appeared before them, that he has committed treason against the United States.

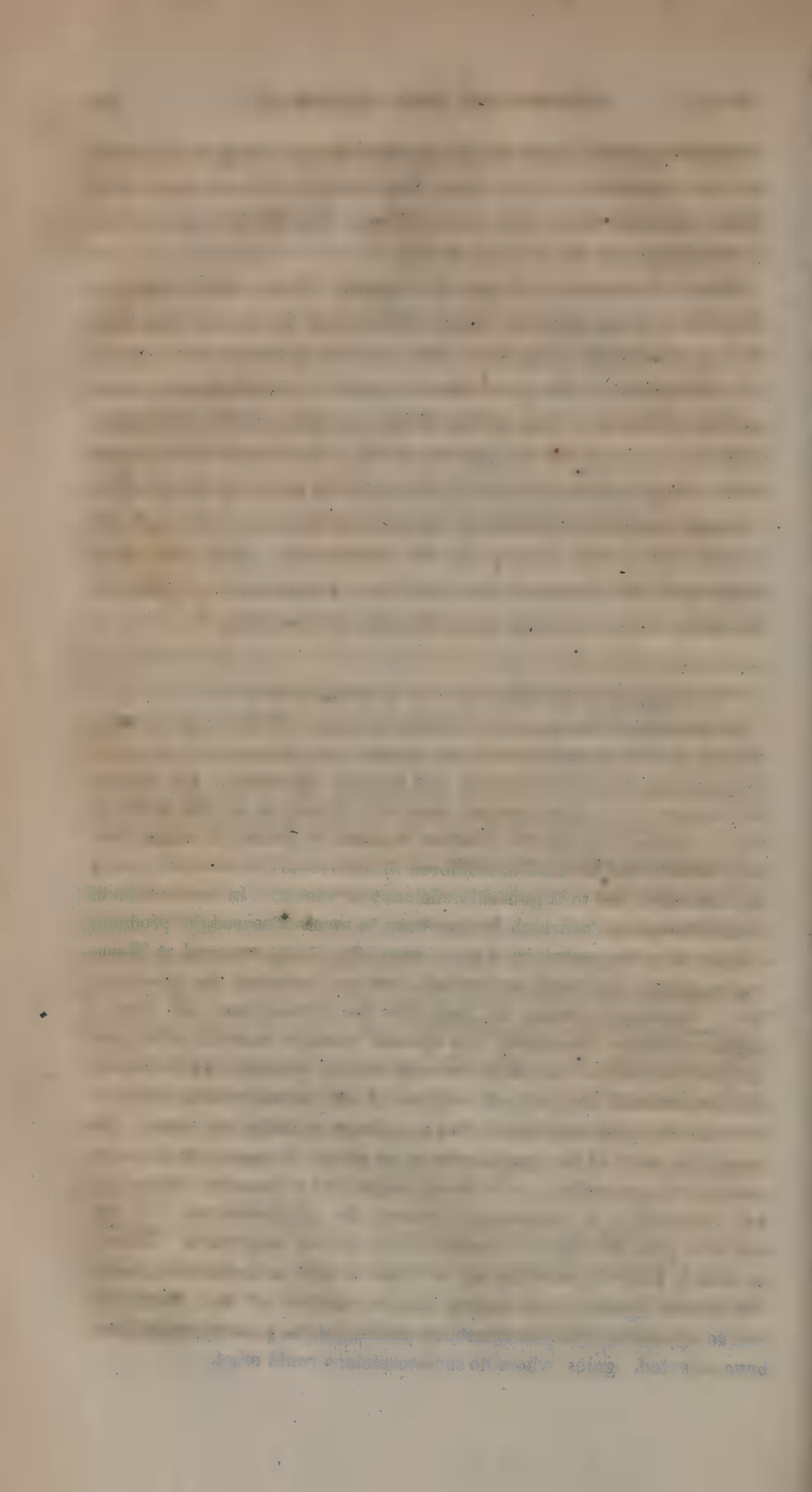
Most of the facts alleged in support of the other charges they find to be proved; those which they do not find proved they particularly point out; they find his defence unsupported, except as to his good character in the revolutionary war, and therefore find him guilty of the second and third charges, and sentence him to be shot to death; two thirds of the court concurring in the sentence. In consideration of his revolutionary services and his advanced age, they earnestly recommend him to the mercy of the executive. The President approved the sentence, remitted the execution, and ordered his name to be stricken from the rolls of the army.\*

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\* Proceedings of the Court Martial on General Hull.

General Hull has recently published a memoir of his campaign, containing an elaborate defence of his conduct, and endeavouring to throw the blame on the administration and General Dearborn. He imputes his disasters to an unauthorized armistice agreed to by that General, and to his inactivity on the Niagara frontier, by means of which General Brock was enabled to reinforce Malden:—to the want of a navy on the lake; and to a general deficiency of means. In justification of his proclamation, for which he has been so much censured, he produces a letter from the secretary of war: soon after it was received at Washington, highly approving his conduct, and not censuring the proclamation. Statements coming so long after the transactions, and from a person so deeply interested, it is obvious, must be received with great caution, any further than they are supported by documentary testimony. He has produced a variety of evidence of this nature, which, though it falls far short of a justification, has a tendency to divide the blame. He complains much of the appointment of an officer to proceed in the court martial, whose conduct was so deeply implicated in the same transaction, and imputes it to a combination between the administration, and that officer to give him up as a sacrifice to their own reputation. Though he utterly fails of producing any evidence of such a combination, yet it was greatly to have been wished, that a president of that court who was to pronounce upon the character and life of the general, might have been selected, against whom no such suspicions could exist.





## CHAPTER V.

Proceedings of the Western States in consequence of Hull's Defeat.—Army under General Harrison.—Defence of Fort Harrison.—General Hopkins's Expedition against the Kickapoo Town; against the Prophet's Town.—Progress of the Army under General Harrison towards the Miami Rapids.—Fort Wayne.—Fort Defiance.—General Tupper's Expedition to the Rapids.—Colonel Campbell's Expedition against the Messessiwena Towns.—Battle at the River Raisin.—Defeat and Capture of General Winchester's Army.—Cruelties of the British and Indians.—Description of the Niagara Frontier.—Proceedings of General Van Rensselaer.—Battle of Queenston.—Militia refuse to cross the River.—The American Army captured.—General Smyth's Proclamations; attempts to pass into Canada, and fails.—Duel between Generals Smyth and Porter.—Proceedings of the Army of the North.—Causes of the Failure of the Campaign of 1812.

*Alarm of the Western States.* THE surrender of the north-western army, of the town and fortress of Detroit, of the military posts of the north-west, and of the whole territory of Michigan, within sixty days after the declaration of war, were subjects of universal astonishment and alarm. The great body of Indians in the western country, ever ready to join the successful party, were now flocking to the British standard, and preparing to renew their ravages with increased severity. The state of Ohio, and the territories of Indiana and Illinois, were the most immediately exposed. Large numbers of Indians were contained within their borders, who, in connexion with those without, would now be induced to join the enemy. Had the army under General Hull been successful, and the establishment at Malden broken up, the savages deprived of their supplies, would have been obliged to remain neutral, or have been awed into submission. Now they were abundantly furnished, and had every inducement held

out to them to increase their depredations. The alarm however that these events excited only served to stimulate to increased exertions, and the Indians were ultimately doomed to suffer the injuries which they and their allies had calculated to inflict on the border inhabitants of the United States.

*Exertions.* By the spirited exertions of the governors of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois, an army of volunteers was assembled in a few weeks, amounting to eight thousand men. Indeed, many more offered than could be received into service. These were placed under the command of General Harrison, governor of Indiana and a brigadier in the United States service, in whose talents and experience the western country had the most perfect confidence. The object of these troops was to subdue the Indians of the west, and regain what was lost at Detroit. The Indians can be divested of their means of annoyance only by destroying their towns, and their means of support, and in this manner compelling them to retire further into the wilderness. Such was the object of these preparations.

*Defence of Fort Harrison.* Fort Harrison on the Wabash, sixty miles above Vincennes, on the 4th of September, was invested by a large party of Indians from the Prophet's town. A party of thirty or forty Indians had appeared at the fort early in the evening, with a flag, under pretence of obtaining provisions. Captain Taylor, commander of the garrison, suspecting an attack, supplied his men with cartridges, and increased his guards. At about 11 o'clock, the Indians prowling about the fort privately set fire to the block-house, in which the provisions and spirits for the garrison were stored; and notwithstanding every exertion, the whole building was immediately in flames, and threatened destruction to the others; but the flames were prevented from further spreading by the great exertions of the garrison. The Indians kept up a firing until morning, when the garrison were able to direct their fire upon them, and obliged them to retire beyond the reach of their guns. The Indians destroyed the

horses and hogs, and drove off the cattle belonging to the garrison. At the time of this attack, there were not more than twenty men in the garrison fit for duty. Captain Taylor the next day repaired the breach made by the burning of the block-house, by a strong row of pickets, and despatched messengers to Vincennes for relief. Not long afterwards, General Hopkins with the Kentucky volunteers arrived, and relieved the garrison.

*General Hopkins's first Expedition.* The hostility in which the Indians had been led to engage by their British friends, induced a determination on the part of the Americans, to extirpate the hostile tribes, or drive them beyond the limits of the United States. While General Harrison was preparing and organizing his forces for the Miami, General Hopkins, under the direction of the governor of Kentucky, was preparing an expedition against the Indians on the head waters of the Wabash, and Illinois. Early in October a force of four thousand mounted men, from Kentucky and the territories of Illinois and Indiana, was collected at Vincennes under his command. On the 10th of October, they reached fort Harrison and relieved that garrison, and on the 14th crossed the Wabash, and encamped after a march of about three miles. General Hopkins, perceiving some discontents among his troops, assembled the field officers and captains, and explained to them the objects of the expedition, and the benefits which would probably result from it. The Kickapoo villages were about one hundred miles distant, and the Pioria towns about one hundred and sixty. The destruction of these towns, and the intervening ones, would break up the most formidable haunts of the savages, and secure the settlements and posts from attack. His troops were supplied with ten days provisions, and every thing necessary for the expedition. The officers held a council, and reported in favour of proceeding; they commenced their march on the 14th, and continued it four days. The discontents increased; many broke away and returned. A major addressed the general, in an insolent



and dictatorial manner, and demanded to be conducted immediately back. On the 18th, they encamped on the edge of a large prairie, covered with high grass and dry weeds. The Indians set fire to the opposite sides, the wind drove the flames furiously towards the camp, and the Americans with some difficulty saved themselves by firing the grass round their encampment. This decided the army to return. General Hopkins offered to lead on five hundred men, if that number could be found to volunteer, but none turned out. He then proposed to lead them on that day, and then would agree to return; but, on putting himself at their head, and ordering them to follow, they filed off in a contrary direction; and he was obliged to follow in the rear of his troops back to fort Harrison. They had penetrated about eighty miles into the Indian country, but found no enemy.

*Second Expedition of General Hopkins.* General Hopkins, not discouraged by the ill success of this expedition, determined another against the Prophet's town, and other villages on the Wabash. On the 11th of November, he marched from fort Harrison, with a detachment of United States troops, and as many militia as could be induced to join him. On the 20th they arrived at the Prophet's town, and destroyed the huts of that and the neighbouring villages, amounting to nearly three hundred, and large quantities of corn. The Indians had abandoned their dwellings at the approach of the troops. The army then proceeded in quest of the Indian encampment, and on the 24th, found it in a very strong position, on the Ponce-passe creek, which protected it on three sides, and in front of their encampment was a high bluff, which could be approached only through steep ravines. This position the Indians had abandoned, previous to the approach of General Hopkins. The lateness of the season, and the severity of the weather, prevented a further progress into the Indian country.\* Several other expeditions were

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\* General Hopkins's letter to Governor Shelby.

successfully undertaken and accomplished against the Indians on the Wabash, the Illinois, and their tributary streams; and by these means, the security of this frontier was effected.

After the failure of Chicago, and the capture of Captain Heald, the Miami and the Potawatomee Indians, to the amount of five or six hundred, invested fort Wayne, situated on the Miami at the junction of St. Marys and St. Josephs. General Harrison's first object, after he had collected a sufficient force, was the relief of that place. He arrived there with twenty-five hundred men, on the 12th of September. The Indians, hearing of his approach, had burned and destroyed every thing outside of the garrison and fled, four days before his arrival. The next object was to open and secure a communication along the Miami river, between the settled part, of the state of Ohio and Lake Erie, and establishing a strong post at the foot of the Miami rapids.

*General Winchester's advance to the Rapids.* On the 20th of September, General Winchester commenced his march from fort Wayne, along the river, to fort Defiance, at the junction of the Au Glaise with the Miami. He reached that place on the 2d of October, having had some skirmishing with the Indians on his march, by which he lost seven killed and one wounded. On his arrival at the fort, he found the enemy had passed thence three days before. General Harrison joined the troops on their march from fort Wayne to fort Defiance. From thence he ordered General Tupper, of the Ohio volunteers, with a detachment of one thousand men, to proceed immediately to the rapids, a distance of fifty miles from Defiance. General Harrison then left the immediate command to General Winchester, and proceeded to Franklinton, to organize and bring on the reinforcements. General Tupper, in consequence of the damaged state of his ammunition, and the time requisite for procuring provisions, was considerably delayed. In the mean time, the Indians appeared on the opposite side of the river, and killed one man. Major Brush, with fifty men, was ordered across the river to reconnoitre;

when nearly the whole of General Tupper's troops, contrary to orders, mounted, and crossed the river in small bands, in pursuit of the enemy. General Winchester then ordered General Tupper to proceed with his whole force in pursuit of the Indians. The latter remonstrated against the order, representing his situation to be such as rendered it impracticable. This was followed by a peremptory order to proceed. While General Tupper was preparing to obey the order, General Winchester transferred the command of the expedition to Col. Allen of the United States troops; on this being made known to the Ohio militia, they refused to proceed, and immediately returned to Urbanna; and the expedition was abandoned.

*General Tupper's Expedition.* From Urbanna General Tupper proceeded to fort M<sup>c</sup>Arthur, with his mounted men, where another expedition was organized, consisting of six hundred troops, to proceed to the rapids. He arrived at the place of his destination on the evening of the 13th of November, and found the place in possession of the British and Indians. He immediately made a disposition for crossing the river. A few of his men succeeded in getting over, but the greater part missed the ford, and the depth and rapidity of the current endangered their safety; and as soon as day appeared, and they were discovered by the enemy, those who had crossed were ordered to return. The gun-boats and other craft in the river, escaped down to the lake. The Indian chief Splitlog, at the head of a considerable band of warriors, crossed the river on horseback, and made a violent attack on General Tupper's troops. They were received with firmness, driven back, and compelled to recross the river with considerable loss. General Tupper's provisions being expended, he was obliged to return.

*Col. Campbell's Expedition to the Messessiwena.* From Franklinton, Colonel Campbell, of the 19th regiment of United States infantry, was despatched on an expedition against the Indians on the Messessiwena river, a branch of the Wabash. On the morning of the 17th of November, he arrived undis-



covered, and made a charge upon their principal town, which he destroyed, with three others a few miles down the river. On the 12th of December, his camp was attacked by a party of three hundred Indians, on the right line, occupied by Major Ball's squadron of horse, who gallantly fought them for three-quarters of an hour, when the Indians retreated. They were at the same time bravely charged by Captain Trotter at the head of his troop of cavalry. Four Indian towns were destroyed, forty warriors killed, and about the same number made prisoners. The American loss was nine killed, and thirty wounded.

While General Harrison was collecting his forces at Sandusky, with a view to concentrate them at the rapids to operate upon Malden and Detroit, General Winchester proceeded from fort Defiance along the Miami, and established himself, and strengthened the post at the foot of the rapids. Here he received a pressing call from the inhabitants of Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, for protection; representing that they were every moment exposed and threatened with destruction by the British and Indians at Malden. The Raisin, after an easterly course of about forty miles, falls into the west end of lake Erie, twenty miles below Malden, and forty north of the mouth of the Miami; along its banks, for several miles from its mouth, are fertile bottom lands of considerable extent, inhabited by people of French extract, and composing the village of Frenchtown, which next to Detroit and Mackinaw, is the most considerable settlement in the Michigan territory. Colonel Lewis, with a detachment of three hundred men, was ordered to the relief of these inhabitants. On the 17th, he arrived within three miles of the town, when he learned that the enemy were already there, and had taken possession of the fortified position formerly occupied by Captain Brush. On the 18th, he attacked and drove them from their strong holds, pursued them a considerable distance into the woods, and returned and encamped on the ground from whence he had driven them. On the 20th, General Winchester arrived with



the main body from the rapids. The whole force now amounted to seven hundred and fifty men, consisting of regular troops, and a large corps of Kentucky volunteers. This expedition was the effect of inconsiderate zeal and humanity, and not the result of military prudence. The detachment was now seventy miles from any succours, in an uncovered situation, and within twenty miles of Malden, where was a much superior British force. The ice formed a solid bridge from Malden to Frenchtown, and a march of six hours was only requisite to bring the British to the American encampment. Captain Brush's works having been completed for a much smaller body of men, were insufficient to protect the whole of General Winchester's forces, and one hundred and fifty of them were necessarily posted in an exposed situation outside of the pickets. The expedition was undertaken without the knowledge of General Harrison, and when he heard of it, he was filled with the most alarming apprehensions for their safety. Having written to Governor Meigs, expressing his fears in strong terms, and requesting further succours, he pressed on with all the troops he had collected at Sandusky, to the rapids, to be in a situation to support General Winchester. The situation of this detachment did not fail to attract the attention of the British at Malden.

*Battle at the River Raisin.* On the evening of the 21st of January, Colonel Proctor left Malden with six hundred British and Canadians, and upwards of one thousand Indians under the chiefs Splitlog and Roundhead, and at day-break of the 22d, commenced a furious attack upon the Americans. The left wing of General Winchester's troops, amounting to six hundred, were stationed within the pickets, formed in a half circle. The British artillery were in front, the Canadians and Indians on each flank. The right wing, consisting of one hundred and fifty men, were in an exposed situation without the pickets. Large bodies of Indians were stationed in the rear to intercept a retreat. The onset was first made on the right wing, which after sustaining an unequal contest for

twenty minutes, broke and fled across the river; here they fell in with a body of Indians, and were nearly all massacred. Two companies of fifty men each, which went out from the pickets to their assistance, shared the same fate. General Winchester and Colonel Lewis, in attempting to rally them, and bring them to a more advantageous position, were made prisoners. The left wing maintained their position, and fought with distinguished valour, against treble their number, until eleven o'clock; when General Winchester having no hopes of success or escape for this band, capitulated for them; stipulating for their safety and honourable treatment as prisoners of war, and particularly that the wounded should be protected from the fury of the savages. Three hundred and ninety-seven were slain in battle, or afterwards massacred by the Indians; the remainder all taken prisoners. The British acknowledge a loss of only twenty-four killed, and one hundred and fifty-eight wounded. This, however, is altogether short of the real number, as they sustained a constant and heavy fire from the troops within the pickets, from seven to eleven o'clock in the forenoon. Sixty-four wounded Americans were left on the ground; these by the aid of the inhabitants, had mostly been removed into the neighbouring houses, and were left by the British with the promise that they should be transported in sleighs to Malden.

*Massacre.* On the morning of the 23d, a large body of Indians came in, tomahawked, and scalped these sufferers, then stripped them, plundered and set fire to the houses, and consumed the dead and dying in one undistinguished conflagration. The fate of Captain Hart was peculiarly distressing, though similar in many of its circumstances to a number of others. Early in the action he had received a wound in the knee, which prevented his walking. After the capitulation, Captain Elliott, an American in the British service, who had been a class-mate and a particular friend of Captain Hart, at Princeton College, came to him, voluntarily offered him his protection, and assured him he

should be conveyed to Malden, and taken care of in Elliott's house until he recovered. With these fair promises, he indulged the hope of speedy relief and recovery. But the next day he found himself in the hands of the savages. They tore him from the bed where he lay ; a brother officer rescued him, and conveyed him to another apartment. Here he was again assaulted. At length he bargained with one of the Indians for a hundred dollars to convey him to Malden. They set off on horse-back, and having travelled a few miles, were met by another band of savages, who claimed Captain Hart as their prisoner. The Indian not giving him up, the others shot and scalped him. Such of the wounded as were able to travel, the Indians carried off with them into the wilderness, and afterwards brought them into Detroit, where they were ransomed and furnished with clothing by the inhabitants. Judge Woodward and Mr. M'Intosh, with other inhabitants of the Michigan territory, exerted themselves for the relief of the sufferers, and procured the release of all who survived of those who had been carried off by the Indians. General Harrison despatched Doctor M'Keehan with two attendants from Sandusky, to assist in dressing the wounded, with an open letter to General Winchester, a flag, and an address to Colonel Proctor, or any British officer, stating his character and business, and furnished with money to procure necessaries. At the rapids of the Miami they entered a vacant house for a few hours' sleep, and left their flag hoisted in the sleigh at the door. They were soon fired upon by a party of Indians, one of the attendants killed, the doctor and the other made prisoners, and conveyed to Malden, where they were treated as spies, put in close confinement, and sent to Quebec ; Proctor inhumanly remarking that the Indians were excellent doctors. The rites of sepulture were refused to the slain. On application to Colonel Proctor, for leave to bury the dead ; he replied that the Indians would not permit it. The few remaining wretched inhabitants, privately buried Captain Hart, and some others. This being dis-

covered by the Indians, they were threatened with instant death if they buried any more; and the mangled remains of the slain lay exposed in the fields, by the sides of the road, and in the woods, to the amount of upwards of two hundred, a prey to the wild beasts. Colonel Proctor seems to have permitted and even encouraged the barbarities of the Indians, to induce them to continue the war, and to strike terror into the American forces that should be opposed to them. The effect however was the reverse of despondence. Though Kentucky was in mourning for the loss of many of her brave sons, yet on the news of this event, new volunteers, in ample numbers, rallied around the standard of their country, and were eventually successful in avenging their losses.

After the surrender of Detroit, General Brock having committed the civil and military concerns of the Michigan territory to Colonel Proctor, and appointed him commandant at Malden, returned to the defence of the Niagara frontier, and established his head-quarters at fort George.

*Niagara Frontier.* The Niagara river runs a distance of thirty-five miles from south to north, conveying the waters of the upper lakes into Ontario, and dividing the British and American territories. Nearly in the centre between lakes Erie and Ontario, is the celebrated Niagara cataract. On the American side is the village of Buffalo: at the outlet of lake Erie, two miles further down the river, is the village of Black Rock, which furnishes a harbour for vessels navigating the lake. At the head of the falls is Schollosser, and seven miles below is the village of Lewistown, which affords a landing-place for goods conveyed on lake Ontario, and destined for the settlements above. Near the junction of the river with the lake, is the Niagara fort and village. This fortress is an ancient French establishment, erected for the purpose of commanding the lake, and controlling the neighbouring Indians. Between these villages, the whole length of the frontier, are scattered farming plantations. On the British side between the lakes, is the Niagara peninsula, on which



and nearly opposite Buffalo stands fort Erie, designed to command the entrance of the lake. Near the falls, and opposite Schollosser, is the village of Chippewa, on a creek of the same name, inhabited by Canadians and Indians. Seven miles below, and opposite Lewistown, is Queenston, which is the British landing-place for goods designed for the upper country. A little to the southward of the town, commence Queenston heights, which extend to the cataract. Near the mouth of the river, and opposite fort Niagara, is fort George, erected by the British on their giving up Niagara to the Americans; between that and the lake is the village of Newark. Scattering settlements lie along the river between these villages the whole length of the frontier; and the inhabitants on each side, connected in business and intermarriages, were in the constant habits of friendly intercourse. This frontier was the principal scene of active war during the whole of the contest.

*Battle of Queenston.* In the beginning of October, there were assembled at Black Rock and Buffalo thirteen hundred newly enlisted recruits under General Smyth, five hundred militia at the same place, twenty-nine hundred militia near Lewistown; six companies of field and light artillery, amounting to three hundred men, and eight hundred infantry at fort Niagara, making an aggregate of five thousand eight hundred, and composing what General Smyth in his proclamations denominates the army of the centre, extending the length of the Niagara frontier. the whole of this force was under the command of Major General Van Rensselaer, of the Albany militia. On the opposite side of the river was General Brock, with a force at fort George, and other posts extending to and including fort Erie, of two thousand four hundred men, consisting of the veterans of the 41st and 49th regiments, and Canadian flank companies, and four hundred Indians.

On the 8th of October, two British armed brigs, the *Detroit* and *Caledonia*, came down the lake from Malden, and

anchored under the guns of fort Erie. Lieutenant Elliott, of the navy, had then just arrived at Black Rock, with fifty seamen to superintend the naval operations in that quarter. On the evening of the 9th, with his seamen and a detachment of fifty volunteers from General Smyth's brigade, he passed over from Black Rock, boarded, and took the brigs. But the wind not favouring, they drifted down the current and grounded. The Detroit, which was formerly the American brig Adams, and surrendered by Hull at Detroit, after being divested of most of her military stores, was abandoned and burnt. The Caledonia, being near enough to be protected by the guns at Black Rock, was saved : she was laden with furs to the value of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. This brilliant achievement was effected with the loss of only two killed, and four wounded.

The general tenor of the congressional debates, and the publications and conversation of the day, had induced a settled belief, that the Canadas would be a certain, easy, and almost a bloodless conquest ; that upon the appearance of a respectable force, at any point on the frontier, the Canadians in great numbers would flock to the American standard, and assist in the object. Impressed with these ideas, the militia and volunteers who had come out but for a short period, were impatient to make a descent on Canada. They insisted on being permitted to attack and drive the British from the Niagara peninsula, and return to their homes ; and many threatened to leave the camp, unless led to immediate action. The success of Lieutenant Elliott had induced them to believe that the conquest was an easy one ; and that they had only to show themselves to the enemy in order to conquer them. In compliance with their wishes, General Van Rensselaer decided on making the attempt. The principal British force was at fort George ; but they had made an establishment, and erected batteries on the heights above Queenston ; against these batteries, the efforts of the American troops were to be first directed. Batteries were erected on the American

shore, to protect the passage and landing of the troops. The regular forces, under Colonel Fenwick and Major Mallary, were ordered up to Lewistown; and thirteen boats, being all that could be procured at the time, were provided for crossing. The van of the troops destined for the attack, consisted of militia, under the command of Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, aid to the General; a part of the 13th infantry, under Colonel Christie; a detachment of the 6th and 9th, under Major Mallary; the whole amounting to four hundred men. At three o'clock, on the morning of the 13th, they proceeded from the camp at Lewistown to the place of embarkation. Colonel Van Rensselaer, to whom the chief command of the expedition was intrusted, with a hundred men, crossed over and effected a landing. A grape-shot from a battery below Queenston which enfiladed the passage, wounded Colonel Christie in the hand; his pilot became confused, his boatmen frightened, and he was obliged to return. The boats with Major Mallary were carried by the violence of the current below the landing place, two of them were taken, and the others returned. In ascending the bank, Colonel Van Rensselaer received four wounds. Captains Armstrong, Wool, and Malcom, were also wounded and Lieutenant Val-leau and Ensign Morris, killed. A party of British troops having issued from an old fort below Queenston, were fired upon by the Americans and compelled to retreat. The firing from the batteries on the heights, soon obliged the Americans to take shelter under the bank. To Colonel Van Rensselaer, who lay on the bank severely wounded, application was made for orders. He directed the batteries to be immediately stormed. The men were rallied, and one hundred and sixty, under the command of Captain Wool, mounted the rocks on the right of the batteries, and took them. The guns were ordered to be turned upon the enemy, but were found to be spiked. The remainder of the detachment now joined Captain Wool. Both parties were considerably reinforced, and the conflict grew severe at various points. Many of the Brit-

ish took shelter behind a guard-house, from whence a piece of ordnance was briskly served, but the fire from the batteries on the American side soon silenced it. The British then retired behind a large stone house, but were soon routed and driven from the hill in every direction. General Brock rallied the troops at Queenston, and with reinforcements, led them round the hill in rear of the batteries; Captain Wool discerning this, detached one hundred and sixty men to meet them; these were driven back. Being reinforced, they returned to the attack, and were again driven by the British to the precipice which forms the bank of the Niagara above Queenston. Here the British pressing upon them with double their numbers, and no opportunity of retreating, an officer placed a white handkerchief upon the point of a bayonet, and raised it as a flag, with intention to surrender, Captain Wool immediately tore it off, rallied his men, and returned to the charge. The British troops were in turn routed.

*General Brock slain.* General Brock, in endeavouring to rally them, was struck by three balls, and instantly killed. His aid, Colonel M'Donald, the attorney general of Upper Canada, was mortally wounded by his side. By ten o'clock, the British were completely driven from the heights. The American line re-formed, and flanking parties sent out. The victory now appeared complete, and General Van Rensselaer proceeded to take measures to secure the conquest. At two o'clock, General Wadsworth of the militia, with Colonels Scott, Christie, and Major Mallary, crossed over and took the command. Captain Wool was directed to retire, and have his wounds dressed. He crossed the river for that purpose, and soon returned to the field. About three o'clock a large party of Indians appeared pouring out of Chippewa, and with their savage yells, commenced a furious attack. The Americans at first gave way, but were soon rallied, and charged the savages, who directly fled to the woods, leaving one of their chiefs a prisoner, and several dead on the ground. Scarcely had this battle ended, when a large reinforcement



with artillery arrived from fort George, and the battle was renewed with increased severity.

*Militia refuse to cross the River.* Most of the events of the day were in view of Lewistown. The militia who had not crossed over, had now seen enough of war. Their zeal for the Canadian conquest had abated. They had discovered that the constitution did not require them to go beyond the limits of the United States. Several boat-loads which had embarked, returned, and no more could be induced to go. General Van Rensselaer returned to the American side, and by every means of persuasion and authority, promising and threatening, endeavoured to bring them over to secure the victory, but to no effect. Twelve hundred, whose presence only on the opposite bank, would have decided the fortune of the day, stood on the American shore, inactive spectators of the slaughter and capture of their brethren. The regular troops, under General Smyth, who had been ordered down from Black Rock, had not arrived; and the Americans on the heights were left to protect themselves. At this time General Van Rensselaer addressed a note to General Wadsworth, informing him that it was out of his power to send him succours, and advising him to retreat to the river, where boats should be provided to take them over. The gallant band fought their way to the river against thrice their numbers, but on arriving there no boats were to be found. The same panic had struck the boatmen; not a boat could be manned to bring them off, and the whole were obliged to surrender. \*

*Surrender of the Americans.* Three hundred and eighty-six regulars, and three hundred and sixty-eight militia were made prisoners; the number killed was not exactly ascertained, but supposed to be about ninety. The whole loss in killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing, was estimated at a thousand. General Brock was conveyed to fort George,

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\* General Van Rensselaer's letter to General Dearborn, of October 14, 1812.

and interred on the 15th with military honours; the guns of fort Niagara, as well as fort George, fired during the ceremony.

*General Smyth's Proclamation.* Most of the militia, who were not made prisoners, were discharged, and on the 24th of October, General Van Rensselaer resigned the command to General Smyth, and retired from the service. On the 10th of November, General Smyth issued his first proclamation to the citizens of New-York, informing them that one army had been lost by a precipitate attempt to pass over at the strongest point of the enemy's lines with most incompetent means. That the commanders in that expedition were destitute of theory and experience in the art of war. That in a few days the troops under his command would plant the American standard in Canada; and calling upon them to join him on horse-back or on foot, in companies, half companies, in pairs, or singly, and assuring them of the most brilliant success.\* This proclamation was seconded by an address from General Peter B. Porter, of Black Rock, to the men of the counties of Ontario and Genesee, calling upon them to join him in the expedition, and assuring them that he should join General Smyth; "and that a vigorous campaign of one month would relieve their brethren on the frontier from the calamities incident to those who are placed near the seat of war, palsy the savage hand that was then wielding the scalping-knife, restore peace to that section of the state, and redeem the tarnished reputation of the country." These applications to the valour and patriotism of the citizens of the western section of the state of New-York were not made in vain. A respectable force volunteered under General Porter for the expedition. On the 17th of November, General Smyth issued a second proclamation addressed to the army of the centre under his command, assuring them that the time was now at hand, when they should cross the Niagara, to conquer Canada, and

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\* Smyth's first proclamation.

secure peace to the American frontier. As they were about to enter a country which was soon to become one of the United States, he enjoined them to respect private property, promising to divide among them whatever booty they should obtain agreeable to the usages of war.\*

*Preparations for Invasion.* On the 27th of November, the military force collected at Black Rock, under General Smyth, prepared for the invasion of Canada, amounted to four thousand five hundred effective men, consisting of New-York volunteers under General Porter, and regulars and volunteers from Pennsylvania and Baltimore. Eighty-five boats were prepared for crossing the river, capable of transporting at once the necessary artillery and three thousand five hundred men. On the night of the 27th, two parties were sent over, one under Colonel Boerlster, and the other under Captain King, assisted by a company of marines, under Lieutenant Angus, to destroy the British batteries. They effectually accomplished this object, routed the enemy, spiked their guns, and drove them from the shore. Captain King, in attempting to return, was captured, with two boats belonging to his party. Colonel Winder, with a party of two hundred and fifty men, in attempting to land at a difficult point on the river, was prevented by the rapidity of the current, and obliged to return to the American side. The general embarkation commenced in the morning of the 28th, but was not completed until afternoon. They then moved up the stream from the navy yard to Black Rock, and were ordered by General Smyth to disembark and dine. After dinner, the expedition was postponed to a future day. This attempt gave the enemy full notice of the plans of the American general. The two following days were employed in preparations for a second attempt. At three o'clock in the morning of the 1st of December, the embarkation commenced a second time; the regulars on the right, General Tanehills's brigade in the centre, and

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\* Smyth's second proclamation.

the New-York volunteers on the left. General Porter accompanied by Majors Chapin and Macomb, Captain Mills of the cavalry, and Adjutant Chace, with two pilots, took his station in the front boat, hoisted his flag, and advanced to the head of the line to lead the expedition.

*Expedition abandoned.* The troops, in fine spirits and in eager expectation, awaited their orders from General Smyth, when, after considerable delay, they were given, not to proceed to the Canada shore, but to disembark and go into winter-quarters. Nothing could exceed the chagrin and disappointment of the troops upon this occasion; disorder and insubordination ensued; General Smyth's life was threatened, and in imminent danger; the militia disbanded and sent home; and General Smyth, finding that the Canadas were not to be taken by proclamation, and being disinclined to make use of more powerful means, retired from the service.

*Duel between Generals Smyth and Porter.* General Porter imputed the abandonment of the expedition altogether to the cowardice of General Smyth. This ended in a challenge from the latter, and a duel between the two generals. Notwithstanding the articles of war prohibited duelling in the army, under the severest penalties, the American nation was doomed to witness the first and second in command in the army of the centre, violating the articles of war, under which they acted, in its most essential provisions. On the 12th of December, the two generals, with their select friends, surgeons, and seconds, at two in the afternoon, in view of their army, put off in two barges from their encampment, to Grand Island, landed, retired a little distance from the shore, marked out their ground at twelve paces distance, and exchanged shots. The surgeons immediately proceeded to examine the effects; happily the balls, if any there were, had missed their objects, and the lives of the two generals were preserved to their country for future achievements. The seconds interfered and produced a reconciliation. General Porter acknowledged that he was now convinced that General Smyth was a



man of courage; and Smyth, that he knew nothing derogatory to the character of General Porter, as a gentleman and an officer. The two generals gave each other the hand, congratulating themselves that they were still alive and unhurt. The parties returned as from an excursion of pleasure, and ended the day in a convivial entertainment; the duel, very fortunately for the combatants, was as bloodless as the expedition which occasioned it. Nations, long accustomed to the arts of war, punish with the most rigid severity, any violation of the laws established for the government of their armies; and for obvious reasons, are the more inflexible in inflicting the punishment, when the offence proceeds from officers of the highest grade. The celebrated Prussian monarch, Frederick III., on being applied to by two of his general officers for permission to fight a duel, readily consented, but informed them, that a file of his sharp shooters would attend, and make the second fire. This led to an immediate reconciliation, and prevented further applications. But the mild and peaceful character of the American government induced them altogether to overlook this offence, and suffer the example to remain a precedent for future occasions.

The general depôt for supplies for the armies of the north and west, was fixed at Albany; and the rendezvous for recruits, at Greenbush, on the opposite bank of the Hudson. Here was a central point where they might be directed to the west or north, as circumstances required. The operations of both were under the direction of General Dearborn, who fixed his head-quarters at Albany. This point, three hundred miles distant from the nearest scene of action, was selected by the commanding general, where the operations of the troops under his command might be directed without the inconvenience of personal exposure; and the responsibility, in case of the failure of any expedition, might rest more immediately upon the officers present in command. The army of the north was under the immediate command of General Bloomfield, whose head-quarters were at Plattsburgh. \* This army consisted of

from two to four thousand men, and as no enemy was nearer than Montreal, a distance of sixty miles, with a wilderness and the river St. Lawrence intervening, they had leisure to perfect themselves in military tactics. During the autumn they made several incursions into Canada in quest of an enemy, but found none. This was an army of reserve, designed to form a junction with the armies of the north-west, and of the centre, on the St. Lawrence, in their progress to Montreal. It was confidently expected that the western regions of Upper Canada would yield to the American force upon the first impression. The armies of the north-west and of the centre were then to concentrate, and proceed with a force which should "look down all opposition," to the St. Lawrence. Here they were to be joined by the army of the north, and long before the close of the campaign establish their head-quarters at Montreal. To provide for these armies in their advance, a depôt was established at Ogdensburgh, on the St. Lawrence, one hundred and thirty miles from that city. On the 4th of October, this post was attacked by the British from Prescott on the opposite shore, with a view to destroy these stores. It was gallantly and successfully defended by the New-York militia under General Brown; two British boats were destroyed, and the residue obliged precipitately to retreat.

The upper territories of Canada, including Montreal, being conquered, the lower province, it was expected, would of course fall, or if the British were suffered to retain possession, it must be of very little consequence after their western fur trade was annihilated. These events were expected to bring on a negotiation in the course of the winter, which would probably end in the restoration of the Canadas, and a recognition of all the American maritime claims.

These plans, so flattering in theory, and promising in prospect, utterly failed in the execution. Misfortune seems to have attended every stage of the campaign of 1812. Instead of realizing those pleasing anticipations, it ended with the loss-

of the important fortresses of Detroit and Mackinaw, and the whole territory of Michigan; of three armies captured,\* and more than six thousand men killed, wounded, and prisoners. No territory had been gained; every conflict with the British, resulted in the defeat of the Americans, and the prospects of peace had been removed at a hopeless distance.

*Causes of the Failure of the Campaign of 1812.* A variety of causes operated to produce these unfortunate results.

*Resources for the Defence of the Canadas.* The two provinces of the Canadas, at the commencement of the war, contained a white population of three hundred thousand; allowing every tenth person to be subject to bear arms, their militia would amount to thirty thousand. The regular troops, in consequence of the appearances of war, had been augmented from three to five thousand, and admitted of considerable further increase, as circumstances might require, from their other American possessions, and from Europe.

A considerable portion of the Indian population must be estimated as under British influence, and capable of being brought to act against the United States. These people have ever been hostile to the progressive settlement of the whites: their chiefs have supposed that they saw in them the ultimate extinction of their race, and were ever ready to listen to the suggestions and promises of the British, to check the progress of the settlements, and restore to the Indians their lands. By these suggestions, by supplying them with arms, encouraging their natural disposition to war, and indulging their propensity to massacre and plunder, the British were able to command the services of five thousand Indian warriors.

Quebec was strongly fortified, and considered impregnable. Strong garrisons were established at Kingston, Montreal, and several other points. The British possessed the means of transportation in a much superior degree to the

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\* Hull's, Van Rensselaer's, and Winchester's.

Americans. The freight from Portsmouth, in England, to Kingston, would not amount to one fourth as much as the transportation from New-York to Sackett's Harbour, necessarily embracing a land carriage of one hundred and eighty miles. This gave them immense advantages in ship-building on the lakes, and in every military operation.

The population of the Canadas was generally loyal. It had been the policy of Great Britain, to encourage settlements in these provinces, by liberal grants of land to settlers, at mere nominal prices, by exemption from taxes, and by commercial privileges. No disposition appeared in the great body of the Canadian people to exchange the British for the American government ; and wherever it did appear, it was effectually checked by the abandonment of the unfortunate Canadians who had joined General Hull's standard, and their execution as traitors by the British general. The real strength of the Canadas, the disposition of the inhabitants, and the means of defence were not accurately known and estimated by the American government. The conquest should not have been attempted with a less force than twenty thousand effective regular troops.

*State of Peace.* A state of profound peace for thirty years had rendered the art of war in a great measure unknown. Most of the heroes of the revolution had paid the debt of nature, those who survived, had long since lost the fire and vigour of youth. The organization of the army was a matter of extreme difficulty. Most of the higher grades were filled with revolutionary officers. Government indeed availed themselves of their experience, but suffered much from want of energy. The subordinate stations were necessarily filled with men without experience. From the mass of applications with which the bureau of the secretary of war was filled, the executive had a choice of men ; but where there had been no experience, it was impossible to discern where that coolness, judgment, and courage, so necessary to the finished officer, resided. A selection was made generally of



judicious and brave men. They had then the art of war to learn, in the field, in the face of an enemy, and at the head of undisciplined troops. They had to contend with a power, who had been constantly at war, for twenty years, and with troops who had seen much service. The celebrated General Brock, and the forty-ninth regiment, had fought in Egypt. Their officers had been selected from soldiers of merit, and trained to discipline.

Another cause of misfortune was a deficiency in the intelligence department. Correct information of the strength and position of the enemy, is a necessary part of the art of war; and an organized plan for obtaining such intelligence, forms one important ingredient in the military system. In this respect, at the commencement of the war, there was a great deficiency, and the enemy's plans were consequently unknown, and their strength liable to be under or over-rated, either of which must prove equally fatal. In the case of General Hull, it was greatly over-rated, and produced the surrender of his army to an inferior force. In the case of General Smyth, the same cause produced irresolution and inaction. In the instance of General Winchester, it was underrated, and an army totally defeated and lost thereby.

*Structure of the American Government.* The organization of the American government, adapted to all the purposes of peace and defence, is nowise calculated for a war of conquest. The physical force of the nation, residing in the militia, is under the control of the states, and not subject to the general government for the purposes of offensive war.

When an enemy is collected on the border, threatening invasion, no doubt the militia may constitutionally be required to pass the lines and dislodge him as a means of preventing invasion, or where he has already invaded, to pursue him beyond the borders. However much the militia under General Van Rensselaer may be censured for carrying their commander to an immediate invasion contrary to his better judgment, inducing their brethren in arms to cross the river,

relying on their support, and "deserting them in their utmost need;" yet it must be acknowledged that they decided correctly on their rights, when they judged that the constitution did not require them to pass the lines for the purposes of conquest. With a military force thus composed, no foreign conquest can be achieved or retained.

War is to be carried on by the United States by an army obtained only by voluntary enlistment. The soldier, for the period of his enlistment, places his life and liberty at the absolute control of the government; and this power is to be exercised by officers unknown to him. In the crowded population of Europe the army is often a retreat from starvation, and no difficulty is experienced in procuring soldiers, but the happy situation of that class of people in the American society, to whom proposals for enlistment must be addressed, and who are able by one day's labour to procure subsistence for four, was a powerful and indeed an insurmountable obstacle to raising an adequate army. Not one fourth of the 25,000 men which were directed to be raised by the act of Congress of the 11th of January, 1812, ever reached the army that season; and three years' faithful trial, with liberal wages and extravagant bounties, has proved beyond a doubt, that the free and happy yeomanry of America are not to be induced to exchange the ease and plenty of home, for the dangers and privations of the camp. The difficulty of procuring enlistments rendered a resort to the militia necessary, to accomplish the objects of the campaign. The conduct of those under General Hopkins on the Wabash, and General Van Rensselaer on the Niagara, developed the nature and value of that species of force. And although the militia of the west, in many instances, manifested a laudable spirit of patriotism and courage; yet the event fully demonstrated that no militia, however ardent or patriotic, are to be relied on for the purposes of foreign conquest.

*Deficiency of Funds.* The funds requisite to supply the war expenditures are to be drawn from the people by direct

taxes, imposed by their immediate representatives, who are themselves to bear their proportion of the burdens. Under such circumstances, taxes are often laid with so sparing a hand, and at so late a period, as to defeat the object. Without adequate funds, seasonably procured and applied, every operation must fail. The war estimates and appropriations for the year 1812, amounted to eleven millions of dollars. Not one half of which was procured by the loans which were authorized for the purpose, and the actual expenditures more than doubled the estimates.

The twelfth Congress, whose first acts were to declare war, and incur the attendant expenses, and whose next duty it was to provide adequate means, suffered their terms to expire without providing the necessary funds, and threw the odium of laying the direct taxes and internal duties on their successors. The cautious money-lender, whose interest always takes precedence of his patriotism, observing this reluctance in Congress to provide for the interest, withheld his loans, and money was obtained only at great sacrifices, in such small quantities, and at so late periods, as very much to embarrass the operations of the war.

## CHAPTER VI.

Plan of Defence on the Sea-board.—American Frigates sail.—Cruise of Commodore Rodgers's Squadron.—Cruise of the Constitution.—Capture of the Guerriere.—Cruise of the Essex.—Capture of the Alert.—Capture of the Frolic: and of the Wasp and Frolic by the Poictiers.—Capture of the Macedonian.—Arrival of the United States and Macedonian.—The Flag of the Macedonian sent to Washington.—Second Cruise of the Constitution.—Capture of the Java.—Rule for distributing Prize Money.—Success of Privateers.—Number and Value of British Vessels captured in 1812.—East-Florida Frontier.—Colonel Newman's Expedition.—Repeal of the Orders in Council.—First Proposition of Mr. Russell for an Armistice.—Lord Castlereagh's Reply.—Second Proposition and Reply.—Admiral Warren's Proposition for an Armistice.—Mr. Monroe's Reply.

ON the sea-board, the regular forces having been mostly withdrawn, and sent to the Canadian frontier, the militia were relied on for defence. Those states which had complied with the President's requisition, had detachments of their militia stationed at the most exposed points. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island, were left to provide for the defence of their coast by occasional calls of their militia. There were, however, no attempts to invade the coast during the year 1812.

The feelings of the American nation which had been deeply wounded by the ill success of their arms on the frontier, were highly gratified by the brilliant achievements of their navy. When their little squadrons left their ports to contend with the haughty mistress of the ocean, every breast was filled with anxiety. The British naval commanders had boasted that they would drive the little striped bunting of the States from the ocean. But the American frigates had not been long at sea, before news of a character calculated to humble British pride, and raise the American spirit, was received.



Previous to the declaration of war, preparation had been made to send to sea, immediately on that event, all the frigates and armed vessels that could be put in readiness, to protect American commerce, and meet the enemy on the ocean.

*Cruise of Commodore Rodgers's Squadron.* On the 21st of June, a squadron, consisting of the *President*, the *United States*, the *Congress*, the *Hornet*, and *Argus*, under the command of Commodore Rodgers, sailed from New-York on a cruise in quest of a convoy of British merchantmen, then on their way from Jamaica to England. On the 23d, off Nantucket, they fell in with the *Belvidere* British frigate, to which they gave chase. The *President*, being the head-most ship, commenced a running fire, which continued two hours. Night coming on, the *Belvidere*, by lightening ship, and crowding sail, escaped. The squadron pursued the convoy to within twenty hours sail of the British Channel; missing their object, they then steered for the island of Madeira, passed close under that island, thence by the way of the Azores to Newfoundland, and returned to Boston on the 1st of September, having made seven captures, and one re-capture during the cruise. Though this cruise was not so successful in captures as was expected, owing in a great degree to the haziness of the weather, yet it was of great service in protecting homeward bound American vessels.\*

*Cruise of the Constitution.* Commodore Hull, in the *Constitution*, sailed from the Chesapeake on the 12th of July; on the 17th, off Egg Harbour, was chased by a ship of the line and four frigates. These ships approached rapidly with a fine breeze, while it was nearly calm about the *Constitution*. At sun rise of the eighteenth, escape appeared hopeless, as they had neared her considerably during the night, preparation was then made for action. The enemy still drawing near, another effort was made to escape. Boats

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\* Commodore Rodgers's letter to the secretary of the navy.

were sent ahead with anchors for the purpose of warping. It was now nearly a calm with the British, and they resorted to the same expedient. The chase continued for two days, partly sailing with light breezes, and partly by warping. On the twentieth, the squadron was left entirely out of sight, and the *Constitution* made the harbour of Boston. On the second of August, Commodore Hull again put to sea, cruised along the eastern coast as far as the bay of Fundy, in expectation of falling in with British frigates in that direction. Not finding any, he proceeded to take a station off the gulf of St. Lawrence, to intercept the Quebec trade. Having here taken two or three merchantmen, he proceeded to the southward.

*Capture of the Guerriere.* On the nineteenth, he fell in with the British frigate *Guerriere*, rated at thirty-eight, but mounting fifty-four guns. This vessel had hoisted at her mast head, a flag with her name, the *WARRIOR*, in large characters, and on another was inscribed the words, *not the Little Belt*. She had looked into several ports in quest of American frigates, and given a challenge to all vessels of her class. On the *Constitution's* heaving in sight, the British commander assembled his crew, pointed to them the object of their wishes, assured them of an easy victory, and being answered by three hearty cheers, backed sail, prepared for action, and awaited her approach. The two ships continued manœuvring to obtain the weathergage of each other for three quarters of an hour, the *Guerriere* occasionally firing broadsides. The *Constitution* reserved her fire until within about four musket-shot, when she opened her broadsides in quick succession upon her antagonist. The mizen-mast of the *Guerriere* was directly carried away, and her decks were swept by a raking fire. In thirty minutes from the time the *Constitution* fairly got along side of her, every mast and spar was gone, and she lay an unmanageable wreck. The firing ceased, and she surrendered. She was so much damaged as to render it impossible to bring her into port, and the next day was cleared of

the prisoners, and every thing valuable, and set fire to and blown up. The damage sustained by the Constitution was of so little consequence, that she was prepared for action the next day, when another ship appeared in sight. The Constitution had seven killed, and the same number wounded; the Guerriere nineteen killed and sixty wounded.\* The news of this brilliant victory, the first on the ocean, was received with rapturous applauses by the American people. Every mark of respect was shown Commodore Hull, and his gallant officers and crew. Congress granted fifty thousand dollars to the crew for the loss of their prize, and the executive promoted several of their officers. The event was as mortifying to the British, as gratifying to the Americans. For thirty years they never had before lost a frigate in any thing like an equal contest.

*Cruise of the Essex.* On the third of July, the frigate Essex, of thirty-two guns, Captain Porter, sailed from New-York. Proceeding southward, she captured the brig Lamprey; learning from her that the Thetis frigate was to have sailed on the 26th of June with specie, and a large convoy from the West Indies to England, he made every exertion to fall in their way off St. Augustine as they came out of the gulf of Mexico. Being prevented by contrary winds, he proceeded to the banks of Newfoundland, hoping to intercept them in that latitude, but without success.

On the 17th of August, the sloop of war Alert, mistaking the Essex for the Hornet, bore up and commenced an attack. In eight minutes she found herself a prize to the Essex, and seven feet of water in her hold. Captain Porter, had now five hundred prisoners on board, which he had taken from different vessels on his cruise. In order to disincumber himself, he repaired the Alert, threw her guns overboard, made a cartel of her, put all his prisoners on board, and sent her to Newfoundland. The prisoners were exchanged for an equal

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\* Commodore Hull's letter to the secretary of the navy.

number of Americans ; and the Alert returned to the United States. On the first of September, the Essex fell in with, and was chased by a squadron of British frigates. She narrowly escaped, and arrived in the Delaware on the seventh.\*

*Cruise of the Wasp.* Captain Jones, of the sloop of war, Wasp, of sixteen guns, had returned from France, two weeks after the declaration of war ; and on the 12th of October, sailed from the Delaware on a cruise.

*Capture of the Frolic.* On the 18th, he fell in with a convoy of six sail, under the protection of the Frolic, sloop of war, of twenty-two guns. On discovering the American, the Frolic fell back, and the engagement commenced at half past eleven, at sixty yards distance. In five minutes the main-topmast of the wasp was shot away, and falling with the sails and yards, across the larboard fore and top sail, rendered her head yards unmanageable during the remainder of the action. The sea being exceedingly rough, the muzzles of their guns were sometimes under water. The English fired as their vessel rose, and her shot principally went over. The Wasp fired as she sunk, and generally struck the hull of her antagonist. They were now so nigh, that in loading, their rammers reached the side of the enemy. Captain Jones determined to board. The jib-boom of the Frolic came in between the main and mizen rigging of the Wasp. After giving a raking fire which swept the deck, Lieutenant Biddle led on the boarders. On gaining the deck, they found no persons there except three officers, and the seaman at the helm. The deck was slippery with blood, and presented a shocking scene of carnage. The three officers threw down their swords in token of submission. The colours were still flying, there being no seamen left to pull them down. Lieutenant Biddle leaped into the rigging and hauled them down with his own hands. After a most bloody conflict of forty-three minutes, complete possession was gained of the Frolic. The birth-

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\* Captain Porter's letter to the secretary of the navy.



deck was crowded with dead, dying, and wounded. The masts soon fell, covering the dead, and every thing on deck, and presenting a most melancholy spectacle. Captain Jones sent his own surgeon and medicines on board the Frolic, and afforded all the relief in his power. The British loss was thirty killed and fifty wounded; the American, five killed and five wounded. A few hours after the battle, and before Captain Jones had made any preparation for sailing with his prize, the Poictiers, a British seventy-four, hove in sight, took possession of the Wasp and her prize, and sent them into Bermuda.

*Second Cruise of Commodore Rodgers's Squadron.* On the 8th of October, the squadron under Commodore Rodgers, which had been refitting at Boston, sailed from that port on a second cruise. On the 13th, the United States, and Argus parted from the others in a gale of wind. A few days afterwards, the President and Congress captured the British packet Swallow, with \$200,000 in specie; and on the 13th of December, returned to Boston, after a very successful cruise. The Argus, after a cruise of ninety-six days, returned to New-York with prizes to the amount of two hundred thousand dollars.

*Capture of the Macedonian.* On the 25th of October, the United States, commanded by Commodore Decatur, off the Western Islands, lat. 29 N., lon. 29 W., fell in with the British frigate Macedonian, rated at 38, mounting 49 guns, and after an action of an hour and a half, captured her. The Macedonian, having the advantage of the wind, chose her own distance, which was such that, for the first half hour, the United States could not use her carronades, and at no time was she within the complete effect of musketry and grape. In this action the superiority of the American gunnery was strikingly manifest. The Macedonian lost her mizen, main-top, and foremasts, and main yard, and was much damaged in her hull. She lost thirty-eight killed, and sixty-eight wounded. Her muster-roll contained the following entries of impressed American seamen.

Christopher Dodge, American, aged 32, pressed by the *Thisbe*, shipped in the *Macedonian* July 1st, 1810.

Peter Johnson, American, aged 32, pressed by the *Dedalus* August 24th, 1810.

John Alexander, of Cape Ann, aged 29, pressed by the *Dedalus*, entered August 25th, 1810.

C. Dolphin, of Connecticut, aged 22, pressed by the *Namur*, entered August 4th, 1810.

Major Cook, of Baltimore, aged 27, pressed by the *Royal William*, entered September 10th, 1810.

William Thompson, of Boston, aged 20, pressed at Lisbon, entered Jan. 16th, 1811, drowned at sea in boarding an American.

John Wallis, American, aged 23, pressed by the *Triton*, entered February 16th, 1811, killed in action in the *Macedonian*.

John Card, American, aged 27, pressed by the *North Star*, entered April 13th, 1811, killed in action in the *Macedonian*.\*

The *United States* lost only six killed and seven wounded, and suffered so little injury, that she might in a few hours have been prepared for another action. From the continued blaze of her guns, the *United States* was at one time supposed to be on fire by her antagonist, but she soon discovered her mistake. The carpenter of the *United States* was killed in the conflict, and left three small children in the hands of a worthless mother; the crew, with the characteristic generosity of seamen, raised a fund of eight hundred dollars from their prize money, deposited it in safe hands, and devoted it to the education of the orphans.

Commodore Decatur had on board his frigate a lad of twelve years old, the son of a brave seaman who had died and left his wife in poverty. As the *Macedonian* hove in sight, and the crew were clearing the ship for action, he ran

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\* Muster-roll of the *Macedonian*:

up to the commodore, and said, "I wish my name may be put down on the roll." "Why so, my lad?" "So that I can have a share of the prize-money." His request was granted. After the Macedonian had struck the commodore said to him, "Well Bill, we have taken the ship, and your share of the prize money, if we get her safe in, may be about two hundred dollars; what will you do with it?" "I will send half to my mother, and the other half shall send me to school." Delighted with a spirit at once so noble and affectionate, the commodore took the lad under his protection, procured a midshipman's birth for him, and superintended his education.

Immediately after the surrender of his ship, Captain Carden ascended the quarter-deck of the United States and presented his sword to Commodore Decatur. The commodore, in a modest unassuming manner, replied, "I cannot receive the sword of a man who has so bravely defended his ship; give me your hand, sir." Just before the commencement of the war, Decatur and Carden accidentally met in the harbour of Norfolk. "Commodore," said the Captain, "we now meet as friends; God grant we may never meet as enemies; but we are subject to the orders of our governments, and must obey them." "I heartily reciprocate the sentiment," said Decatur. "But what, sir," said Carden, "suppose we meet as enemies, what do you imagine would be the consequence to yourself and the force you command." "Why sir," said the hero of the Mediterranean, "if we meet with forces that might fairly be called equal, the conflict would be severe, but the flag of my country on the ship I command, shall never leave the staff on which it waves, as long as there is a hull to support it." The next meeting of these heroes of the ocean, was on the quarter-deck of the United States.

An arduous and important duty still remained for Commodore Decatur to perform; to conduct his ship and his shattered prize to an American port, over an immense ocean, filled in almost every direction with powerful enemies. Although

the uniform politeness of the commodore to his brave enemy, made Captain Carden almost forget that he was a prisoner, yet he was not without strong hopes of being re-captured in the course of the voyage, and of seeing the American frigate and her prize enter a British port. But his wishes were not gratified. Commodore Decatur entered the harbour of New-London on the 4th of December, with his ship and prize in safety. Lieutenant Hamilton, son of the secretary of the navy, was the bearer of his despatches, and the flag of the Macedonian to Washington. He arrived on the evening of the 8th. It fortunately occurred that on that evening a ball was given in honour of the American navy. The beauty and fashion of the city, and much of the patriotism and talents of the republic, were drawn together on this occasion. It was suddenly announced, that the flag of another British frigate had arrived. Lieutenant Hamilton entered the hall. Commodores Hull and Stewart triumphantly waved the flag through the assembly, and presented it to Mrs. Madison. The secretary of the navy, and his wife and daughter, were present, and received their son and brother with the warmest affection.

In a few days, the United States, with her prize, proceeded to the harbour of New-York, for the purpose of having the latter ship repaired, and preparing for another cruise. The citizens complimented the commodore with an elegant and appropriate entertainment. A capacious hall was colonaded with masts of ships, with the flags of various nations suspended upon them. On each table was a miniature ship, displaying the American stripes. An area of twenty by ten feet was filled with water, in which a miniature of the United States frigate floated. A main-sail of thirty-three by sixteen feet was suspended in the rear of this artificial lake, upon which the American eagle was painted, holding in his beak a scroll with these words: OUR CHILDREN ARE THE PROPERTY OF OUR COUNTRY. One beautiful transparency represented the eagle holding in his mouth three medallions; one inscribed, HULL



AND THE GUERRIERE; another, DECATUR AND THE MACEDONIAN; and the third, JONES AND THE FROLIC. Another splendid figure represented the frigate Constitution taking the Guerriere, August 12th; the United States, the Macedonian, October 25th; and the Wasp, the Frolic November 18th, 1812. At this entertainment, the commodore had the satisfaction of meeting his friends and brothers in victory, Hull and Jones.

The next day the corporation gave a dinner to the whole crew of the United States, in the same hall, ornamented in the same style. The miniature lake, in which the frigate floated yesterday, was to-day filled with the appropriate beverage of the guests, from which they drank to the toast,

*American ships all over the ocean!*

The crew, exceeding four hundred, neatly dressed in blue jackets and trowsers, scarlet vests, and glazed hats, marched from the frigate to the hall in perfect order, to their favourite tune of Yankee Doodle, from the band of the Macedonian. The novelty of the scene attracted the attention, and drew forth the reiterated applauses of an immense concourse of spectators. At the close of the entertainment, the commodore, attended by his first lieutenant, W. H. Allen, entered the hall, and communicated to them the request of the managers of the theatre, that they would attend in the evening, and the whole pit was appropriated to their accommodation. "Sailors," said the commodore, "your orderly and decorous conduct this day gives me high satisfaction; continue it through the evening, and convince the hospitable and patriotic citizens of New-York, that you can maintain the same order in the midst of amusements, as you have done when sailing on the ocean, and conquering the enemy." The commodore's address was answered by the respectful salute of the crew: the Macedonian band again struck their favourite tune; and they marched in regular order to the theatre, enjoyed the entertainment, and returned to their ship exhibiting through the whole scene a perfect decorum of conduct, and the characteristic

good humour and pleasantry of the American sailor. The liberality of the managers was amply rewarded by a crowded audience of citizens, whom their singular exhibition had attracted to the theatre.

*Second Cruise of the Constitution.* On the return of the Constitution to port, after the capture of the Guerriere, Captain Hull, at his request, was discharged from the command of her, and was succeeded by Commodore Bainbridge. In October she sailed in company with the Hornet, Captain Lawrence, from New-York, with orders to form a junction with the Essex, which sailed about the same time from the Delaware, and proceed to the Pacific ocean to destroy the British fisheries and commerce in that quarter. Adverse winds prevented the junction at the time and place appointed, and the Essex proceeded to the South Seas alone.

*Capture of the Java.* On the 30th of December, the Constitution, having parted with the Hornet a few days before off the coast of Brazil, fell in with, and captured the British frigate Java, rated at 36, but mounting 49 guns, under the command of Captain Lambert. On descriing the frigate, Commodore Bainbridge tacked and stood for her. At two o'clock P. M. they were within half a mile, and the action commenced with round and grape. At half past two, they were within good cannister distance, when the Constitution's wheel was shot away. Commodore Bainbridge now determined to close with her, and luffed up for that purpose, and in ten minutes the enemy's jib-boom got foul of the Constitution's mizen rigging, and immediately after his bow-sprit and jib-boom were shot away. At fifteen minutes past three, the enemy were completely silenced, and his colours at the mast being down, it was supposed he had surrendered, and the Constitution shot ahead to repair. But it was soon discovered that the British colours were still flying, upon which the Constitution bore down upon her, and got close athwart her bows in an effectual position for raking, when her main-mast went by the board, and she lay an unmanageable wreck. Her colours

were now struck, and possession taken. Captain Lambert and sixty of his men were killed, and one hundred wounded. The Constitution lost nine killed, and twenty-five wounded. The great distance from the American coast, and the crippled situation of the prize, prevented her from being brought in. After taking out the prisoners and baggage, she was set fire to, and blown up.

The Java was an important ship, fitted out in the completest style, having on board Lieutenant General Hislop, Governor of Bombay, and staff, with a hundred supernumerary officers and seamen, for the supply of the British ships in the East Indian seas. She had also on board important despatches for St. Helena, the cape of Good Hope, and the British establishments in the Indian and Chinese seas. The prisoners were all landed, and left on their parole at St. Salvador, with permission to return to England, on condition of not serving against the United States until exchanged. After this battle, Commodore Bainbridge found it necessary to return to the United States, and arrived at Boston on the 8th of February.

On his return, he writes to his friend, "That the Java was exceedingly well fought and bravely defended. Poor Lambert, whose death I sincerely regret, was a distinguished and gallant officer, and a worthy man. He left a widow and two helpless children; but his country makes provision for such events. We are now homeward bound. The damage the Constitution sustained in the action, and her decayed state, make it necessary for me to return to the United States for repairs. This I much regret; my crew participate in the sentiment. They are, however, consoling themselves with the hope of receiving their prize-money for the Guerriere on their return. You would be highly amused to hear these rough, though noble sons of Neptune, planning how they should spend their prize-money. One says, he will buy himself a snug little ship, on the highest hill, that he may thence, in his old age, view all our sea-fights. Another says, he will now marry

his Poll. Another, that he will send his little Jack to school. Poor fellows! I trust they will not be disappointed. Twice have they willingly and gallantly encountered the enemy, and twice have they succeeded. To return home now, and find they have nothing but a remnant of pay coming to them, would depress their spirits, and damp that noble ardour which they have hitherto felt and displayed. The officer may feel differently; for the performance of his duty, he feels a reward in his own bosom, and in his country's thanks. Patriotism, and a laudable thirst for renown, will lead *him* to court perils, in defence of his country's rights. These feelings operate upon the sailor also; but to keep up the high tone of his ardour, he must have prize-money in view. The schooner I am now despatching, a prize to the Hornet, will give to the treasury of the United States upwards of one hundred thousand dollars."

*Distribution of Prize-Money.* The rule established by Congress for the distribution of prize-money arising from captures by national vessels, is, one half to the United States; the other is divided into twenty equal parts, and distributed in the following manner:

To the captains . . . . .	3
To the sea lieutenants and sailing-masters . . . . .	2
To the marine officers, surgeons, pursers, boatswains, gunners, carpenters, master's mates, and chaplains . . . . .	2
To midshipmen, surgeon's mates, captain's clerk, school-master, boatswain's mates, gunner's mates, carpenter's mates, steward, sail-makers, masters at arms, armourers, and cockswains . . . . .	3
To gunner's yeomen, boatswain's yeomen, quarter-masters, quarter-gunners, coopers, sail-maker's mates, sergeants, and corporals of marines, drummers and fifers, and extra petty officers . . . . .	3
To seamen, ordinary seamen, marines, and boys . . . . .	7

In captures made by national vessels, where the captured vessel is of equal or superior force, the whole is given to the



crew. In the case of the *Guerriere* and *Java*, where the prize was destroyed, because she could not be brought into port, Congress, by a special act, granted fifty thousand dollars for each capture; and in the case of the *Frolic*, to the crew of the *wasp*, twenty-five thousand. The United States also allow twenty dollars for each prisoner of war, made by private armed vessels. In captures made by privateers, where there is no contract regulating the distribution of prize-money, one half belongs to the owners, and the other is distributed to the crew, according to the rules established in the case of public vessels.

During the long period while the restrictive system was in operation, from 1807 to 1812, the enterprise, ships, and capital of the American merchant had been inactive.

*Result of the Naval War in 1812.* On the declaration of war, an extensive field opened for their operation. Numerous privateers were fitted out in the principal ports of the United States; and British commerce in every quarter of the globe was made to feel the effects of American bravery and enterprise. Within four months after the declaration of war, there were fitted out, and sent to sea, from New-York, twenty-six privateers, carrying 212 guns, and 2239 men. Baltimore within the same period, sent out seventeen privateers, and twenty-five fast-sailing letters of marque schooners, denominated Baltimore flyers, carrying 330 guns, and 3000 men.

By the close of the year 1812, embracing a period of about six months of war, the public and private armed vessels of the United States had captured, and sent into port, or destroyed at sea, three hundred and nineteen British vessels; three of them frigates of the first class, others of them public armed ships, and the residue valuable merchantmen; the whole value, estimating them on an average at \$40,000, a prize amounting to 12,680,000 dollars.

From the commencement of the war, Admiral Sir John B. Warren had been stationed with a powerful fleet along the coast in such manner as most effectually to intercept Ameri-

can vessels. But their skill and bravery eluded his vigilance, or withstood his attacks, and enabled them to enrich themselves with the spoils of their enemies, and to retaliate on them the injuries they had so long unresistingly borne.

*East Florida.* The interior of East Florida is inhabited by Seminole Indians, runaway negroes, and fugitives from justice from the neighbouring states, and forms a convenient asylum for the profligate of every description. This population subsist by plunder, and aided and supplied by the Spaniards at St. Augustine, had become the scourge and terror of the Georgia frontier. In January 1811, Congress, apprehensive that the British were about to take possession of the province, and that in their hands it would become a source of still greater evils to the United States, passed a law, authorizing the President, in case the local authorities would consent, or in case an attempt should be made to invade the province by any foreign power, to take possession of it in the name of the United States. General Matthews and Colonel M'Kee, were appointed commissioners to execute the provisions of this law. They were authorized, in case it was necessary, to call in aid the United States troops at the nearest station. On repairing to St. Augustine, the commissioners found the Spanish authorities altogether averse to surrendering the province to the United States, and no appearance of any attempt by the British to take possession. The commissioners, however, being citizens of Georgia, and believing that the safety of the frontier of that state required the measure, called in the force under Col. Smith, and took possession of Amelia Island, and other parts of the province. On being informed of this proceeding, the President, on the 4th of April, 1812, revoked the powers of the commissioners, and appointed Governor Mitchell in their stead, and directed him to restore such parts as had been taken possession of by General Matthews, and giving him discretionary orders for the United States troops to evacuate the territory, if in his opinion, the public safety would permit. This discretionary power in the hands of the gov-

error of Georgia, was equivalent to an express authority to detain the troops in the province. In his message to the legislature after his return, Governor Mitchell observes, that the force at St. Augustine was of such a description that it could not be tolerated; and that the peace and safety of the state would be hazarded if the occupancy of East Florida was relinquished or much longer delayed. The committee of the general assembly, to whom the message was referred, in their reply, say, "That though there has been no actual invasion of the state by a foreign force, yet a warfare has been commenced on the frontiers, and murders perpetrated under the sanction, or with the connivance of the governor of East Florida, and a savage warfare is still in operation under sanction of that authority, which places the citizens immediately exposed to its effects, in such danger as admits of no delay. They therefore recommend that the state should immediately organize a sufficient force to occupy East Florida."

*Expedition of Colonel Newman.* In consequence of these proceedings, on the 15th of August, Colonel Newman, adjutant general of the Georgia militia, with a detachment of two hundred and fifty men, advanced into the province as far as St. Johns river, where he received the orders of Colonel Smith, commandant of the United States troops before St. Augustine, to proceed against the hostile Indians, and destroy their towns and provisions. On the eve of his departure, he received an express from Colonel Smith, informing him that his provisions, wagons, and the escort, were attacked by a body of Indians and negroes, and ordering him immediately to join him with a detachment of ninety men, and bring with him all the horses and carriages he could spare, for the removal of his baggage, artillery, and sick; Colonel Smith having with him then only seventy men fit for duty. Colonel Newman, having accomplished this service, and assisted Colonel Smith in removing to the block-house on Davis's Creek as a place of greater safety, found that the time allotted for the expedition had so far been spent, that his men had but six days



to serve. He proposed to them an extension of their service for twenty days longer. Only eighty-four of his men, including officers, volunteered; these with 23 men furnished by Colonel Smith, made his whole force amount to one hundred and seventeen, supplied with four days provisions, and twelve horses. On the morning of the fourth day of their march, when within about six miles of the Lotchaway towns, the object of their expedition, they were attacked by a party of Indians, who kept up a constant firing upon them from behind the trees, until they were dislodged by the bayonet. The action lasted two hours and a half, the Indians frequently attempting to get into the rear of the Americans. About half an hour before sunset the enemy received a large reinforcement of Indians and negroes from the town, and renewed the attack. This action lasted until eight in the evening, when the Indians and negroes were repulsed and retired. After fasting and fighting all day in the woods, Colonel Newman with his little band, had to work all night to erect a breast work of logs for their safety. They were now fifty miles from any succours, destitute of provisions, and surrounded with savages and negroes to the amount of more than four times their number. Captain Whitaker was despatched to St. Johns for provisions, and reinforcements. Six men, including their surgeon and pilot, went off with them, taking six of their best horses. The situation of the detachment now became hopeless: they remained in this place eight days in a starving condition, without hearing from their expected supplies, the Indians attacking them every day after the two first. On the 9th they abandoned their fort; all their remaining horses being killed, they were obliged to carry their wounded on their backs. Two hours after they left the fort twenty-five horsemen arrived with provisions for their relief; but, instead of following them, they returned to St. Johns. After marching about five miles, they were again attacked by the Indians, and four of their number killed. They then charged the Indians and drove them from the field with the



bayonet, and remained all night on the battle ground. The next day they marched five miles, and again threw up a breast-work, subsisting upon alligators, and palmeto stalks; here they remained surrounded and frequently attacked by the Indians and negroes, until a relief arrived with provisions and horses, by which they were enabled to reach St. Johns, with their sick and wounded, where they found a gun-boat in waiting, by order of Colonel Smith, to convey them to his camp.\*

*Proposition by Mr. Russell to the British Government for an Armistice.* On the 10th of May, 1812, the French minister communicated to Mr. Barlow, the American minister at Paris, a decree of the French emperor, bearing date the 28th of April, 1811, announcing that the decrees of Berlin and Milan are definitively repealed, and to the date of the preceding first of November, considered as not existing in regard to American vessels. Mr. Barlow immediately despatched a special messenger, with a copy of this decree to Mr. Russell, and on the 21st of May, Mr. Russell communicated it to the British minister. On the 23d of June, an order in council was passed, declaring that the orders of the 7th of January, 1807, and of the 26th of April, 1809, were revoked, so far as related to American vessels and cargoes, from the 1st of the succeeding August. It was also further declared, that as British armed vessels, by sundry acts of the American government, were excluded from the waters of the United States, and the armed vessels of France admitted; and as the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and the United States was interdicted, and that between France and America restored, unless the American government, on receiving notice of this revocation, should place Great Britain on the same footing as France, in these respects the revocation was to be annulled. The order also provided that the prince regent should not be precluded, if circumstances should require it, from restoring the orders in council, or from taking such other measures of retaliation

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\* Colonel Newman's letter to Governor Mitchell.

against the French, as might appear to his royal highness just and necessary.

On the 24th of August, Mr. Russell, by order of the President, proposed an armistice, to commence at or before the expiration of sixty days from the date of the instrument providing for it, on condition that the orders in council be repealed, no illegal blockades substituted in their stead, and that orders be immediately given to discontinue the practice of impressment, and for the restoration of persons already impressed: it being understood that the British government will assent to enter into definite arrangements on all other subjects of difference by treaty as soon as may be. As an inducement to the British government to discontinue the practice of impressment, Mr. Russell was directed to give assurances that a law should be passed to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the public or commercial vessels of the United States.

*Reply of Lord Castlereagh.* In a note of the 29th of August, Lord Castlereagh replied, "that the diplomatic relations between the two governments terminated by the declaration of war; yet under the peculiar circumstances of the present case, he had been induced to submit Mr. Russell's propositions to the prince regent, and had his orders to inform him, that they were on various grounds inadmissible. He further stated, that immediately on the revocation of the orders in council, the British admiral on the American station had orders to propose to the government of the United States an immediate and reciprocal revocation of all hostile orders, with an offer to give full effect, in such an event, to the provisions of said order on the conditions therein specified. In the present state of the relations between the two countries, the operation of the order of the 23d of June last could only be defeated by a refusal on the part of the American government to desist from hostilities, or to comply with the conditions expressed in the order."

He further remarked, "that it was unexpected that the American government should demand as a preliminary, even to the suspension of hostilities, that the British government should desist from its ancient and accustomed practice of impressing British seamen from the merchant ships of a foreign state, simply on the assurance, that a law should be passed to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the public or commercial vessels of such state: that the British government is now, and ever has been ready, to receive from the American, and amicably discuss, any proposition which professes to have in view, either to check abuse in the practice of impressment, or to accomplish by means less liable to vexation, the object for which impressment has hitherto been found necessary. But they cannot consent to suspend the exercise of a right, on which the naval strength of the empire mainly depends, until they are fully convinced, that means can be devised, and will be adopted, by which the object can be effectually secured.

*Second Proposition.* On the 12th of September, Mr. Russell, by order of his government, submitted another set of propositions to the British ministry, on the subject of the suspension of hostilities. That a convention for that purpose should be entered into, to take effect at such time as should be mutually agreed on, and stipulating that each party should forthwith appoint commissioners, with full powers to form a treaty, which should provide, by reciprocal arrangements, for the security of their seamen, from being taken or employed in the service of the other power, for the regulation of their commerce, and all other interesting questions between them; and that the armistice should not cease without such previous notice as should be agreed on, and should be understood to have no other effect, than to suspend military operations by sea and land. "It was necessary," Mr. Russell said, "in acceding to this proposition to come to a clear understanding on the subject of impressment, embracing a discharge of American seamen already impressed, without having the arrangement



in a formal shape, and also on the subject of future blockades, the revocation of the orders in council being confirmed."

*Reply.* To these propositions Lord Castlereagh replied, "that he saw no material difference between them and those of the 24th of August. These now sought to accomplish in a covert and disguised manner, what the other openly required, and were on that account, the more exceptionable. That the subject of impressment was of much greater magnitude and difficulty than Mr. Russell apprehended: that if America wished to get rid of the war, the revocation of the orders in council gave her an opportunity, and according to the armistice which Admiral Warren was authorized to propose, the object would be accomplished."\*

Here the correspondence, and all the negotiations at London for the suspension of hostilities, ended, and Mr. Russell immediately embarked for the United States.

*Proposition to the American Government by Admiral Warren for an Armistice.* On the 30th of September, Admiral Warren, by order of his government, addressed a note to the American secretary of state, enclosing the British order in council of the 23d of June, and proposing the immediate cessation of hostilities between the two countries, on the following terms:

"That America should immediately recall her letters of marque and reprisal, with all orders and instructions for any acts of hostility against the territory, persons, or property of his majesty's subjects: that on receiving official assurances to that effect, all acts of hostility should cease against the ships, persons, and property of the United States: that should the American government accede to this proposition, he was authorized to make arrangements with them for the repeal of the laws interdicting the commerce and ships of war of Great Britain from the ports of the United States.

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\* Correspondence between Mr. Russell and Lord Castlereagh.



In default of which repeal in a reasonable time, the orders in council would be revived."

*Reply of the Secretary of State.* In reply to these propositions, the American secretary stated, "that it would be very satisfactory to the President, to meet the British government in such arrangements as may terminate, with the least possible delay, the hostilities between the two countries, on terms honourable to both. At the moment of the declaration of war, the President gave signal proof of the attachment of the United States to peace; as at that early period, instructions were given to the late charge des affaires at London, to propose an armistice which it was presumed would be satisfactory. It has been seen with regret, that the propositions made through him, particularly in regard to the important subject of impressment, were rejected, and that none were offered through that channel as a basis on which hostilities might cease. Experience has proved that no peace can be durable unless that subject is provided for. It is presumed, therefore, that it is equally the interest of both countries to adjust it at this time.

"The claim of the British government is to take from the merchant vessels of other countries, British subjects. In the practice, the commanders of British ships of war often take from the merchant vessels of the United States, American citizens. If the United States prohibit the employment of British subjects in their service, and enforce the prohibition by suitable regulations and penalties, the motive for the practice is done away. It cannot be conceived on what ground such an arrangement can be refused. A suspension of the practice pending the armistice, seems to be a necessary consequence. It cannot be presumed, that while the parties are engaged in negotiation to adjust this important difference, the United States would admit the right, or acquiesce in the practice, or that Great Britain would be unwilling to restrain her cruisers from a practice that would defeat the negotiation. If the British government is willing to suspend the practice

of impressment, on consideration that the United States will exclude British seamen from their service, the regulations by which the compromise should be carried into effect, would be solely the subject of negotiation. The armistice would be of short duration: if the parties agreed, peace would be the result; if not, each would be restored to its former pretensions, by recurring to war.

“The President desires that the war between the two countries should be terminated on such conditions as may secure a durable peace. To accomplish this great object, it is necessary that the subject of impressment should be satisfactorily arranged. He is willing Great Britain should be secured against the evils of which she complains. He asks, on the other hand, that the citizens of the United States should be protected against a practice, which, while it degrades the nation, deprives the citizens of their rights as freemen, takes them by force from their families and their country, and drags them into a foreign service, to fight the battles of a foreign power, perhaps against their own kindred and country.

“The orders in council having been repealed, and no illegal blockades revised or instituted in their stead, and an understanding having been obtained on the subject of impressment, the President is willing to agree to a cessation of hostilities, with a view to arrange by treaty, in a more distinct and ample manner, and to the satisfaction of both parties, every other subject of controversy. If there be no objection to an accommodation on this subject in the mode proposed, other than a suspension of the practice during the armistice; there can be none to proceeding without an armistice to an immediate discussion and arrangement of an article upon that subject. This great question being satisfactorily adjusted, the way will be open, either for an armistice, or any other

course leading most conveniently and expeditiously to a general pacification.”\*

This correspondence terminated all attempts to effect a cessation of hostilities. The orders in council being repealed, the only remaining subject of controversy was IMPRESSMENT, and on this the belligerents determined to maintain their respective claims at the hazard of war. The views of the American government, in continuing the war solely on the ground of impressment, were, that this was a point which could never be yielded by an independent nation; that having taken up arms in a case where this stood as one of the prominent causes, to make peace without a satisfactory arrangement on this head, and while the practice was suffered to continue, was in effect abandoning the principle, and with it one of their most valuable national rights. On the other hand, the British considered their naval power, and as they were then situated, their national existence, at hazard, by abandoning their claim, and would agree to no armistice where a suspension of the practice must be the preliminary.

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\* Mr. Monroe's letter to Sir J. B. Warren.

## CHAPTER VII.

Second Session of the Twelfth Congress.—Report of the Committee of Foreign Relations.—Law prohibiting the employment of Foreign Seamen.—Report of the Committee on Military Affairs.—Debates on the expediency of continuing, and manner of conducting the War.—Army Bills passed.—Report of Committee on Naval Affairs.—Comparison between Seventy-Fours and Frigates.—Dry Dock recommended.—Navy Bills passed.—Treasury Estimates.—Report of Committee of Ways and Means.—Revenue Bills passed.—Remission of Penalties on Goods imported after the revocation of the Orders in Council.—Law authorizing Retaliation passed.

*Meeting of Congress.* AFTER a recess of four months, the twelfth Congress commenced their second session on the 2d of November, 1812.

*Message.* In his message, at the opening of the session, the President informed them of the steps he had taken towards ■ pacification; of the failure of the negotiation for that purpose; recommended a prosecution of the war with increased vigour, and proposed a variety of measures adapted to that object. That part of the message which related to the prosecution of the war, and the documents, relating to the negotiations, were referred to the committee of foreign relations. The most interesting question that agitated Congress and the people of the United States during this session, was, whether the war should continue solely on the ground of impressments? Though this constituted one of its prominent causes, yet, no doubt, had the repeal of the orders in council taken place, and been known in the United States before its commencement, impressment alone would not have induced the war, but that question would have remained a subject of further negotiation.

*Report of the Committee of Foreign Relations in favour of continuing the War.* On this point, Mr. Grundy, of Tennes-



see, from the committee of foreign relations, reported, that almost on the same day on which war was declared, the British government had conditionally repealed their orders in council, and thereby removed one great obstacle to accommodation. That the only remaining subject of dispute between the two countries was impressment. That an offer had been made to the British government, to provide a substitute, which should be an ample equivalent; that one had been proposed which was definite in its object, and of a character so comprehensive, as ought to have been entirely satisfactory, but that it had not been accepted. The British government had ever refused to come to any arrangement upon the subject. It now became the duty of Congress, to declare, in terms the most decisive, that should they still decline, the United States will never acquiesce in the practice, but resist it unceasingly and with all their force. "It is not now necessary," the committee observe, "to inquire what the course would have been, had the orders in council been repealed before the declaration of war, or how long the practice of impressment would have been borne, in the hope that the repeal of the orders in council would have been followed by a satisfactory arrangement upon that subject. War having been declared, and the cause of impressment being necessarily included as one of the most prominent causes, it must be provided for in the pacification. The omission of it in a treaty of peace, would not leave it on its former ground. It would in effect, be an absolute abandonment of the principle. The seamen of the United States have a claim on their country for protection, and they must be protected. Impressment is an evil which must not and cannot be longer tolerated. It is in the highest degree degrading to the United States as a nation, incompatible with their sovereignty, and subversive of the main pillars of their independence. Their forbearance has been mistaken for pusillanimity. The British pretension was fast maturing into a right; and should resistance be longer delayed, it would soon become one.

In order to remove all ground for the continuance of the war, and to place Great Britain manifestly in the wrong, the report concludes with recommending a bill prohibiting the employment of foreign seamen in the public or private vessels of the United States, after the termination of the present war, under heavy penalties, and providing that the lists of the crews of merchant vessels be exhibited, and recorded in the office of the collectors of the several ports, and that the consuls and agents of foreign powers might have free access to such records, and a fair opportunity to object to the shipping of any individuals whom they claimed as belonging to their nation.

*Law to exclude Foreign Seamen.* In pursuance of this recommendation, a law was enacted embracing these provisions, applicable to those nations only who should adopt similar regulations and discontinue the practice of impressment. It was confidently hoped, that when an act was passed, which should give a better security against the employment of their seamen than the practice of impressment, the British government would be willing to abandon it. But they viewed it in a very different light. British seamen came into the United States, either by shipping themselves on board American vessels in British ports, or by deserting from British vessels in American ports. While they remained within the territory of the United States, they could not be reclaimed, and delivered to the British authorities. Merely refusing to employ them on board American vessels, left them on American ground free to engage in other pursuits, and did not restore them to the British nation. In their estimation, then, the law afforded a very imperfect and inadequate remedy for the evils of which they complained. Indeed in the present state of the British marine, such a law was by no means a desirable object to them; as by prohibiting the employment of British seamen in American vessels, it precluded the opportunity of impressing them. This refusal of the British government to restore impressed Americans, and to accept the proposition

to exclude their seamen from the merchant and naval service of the United States, in the opinion of the committee, warranted the conclusion that they were determined to man their navy in violation of the dearest rights of American citizens, and justified a continuation of the war. No accommodation was effected, and this point still remained to be settled by the sword.

*Report of the Committee on Military Affairs.* Mr. Williams, of North Carolina, from the committee on military affairs, reported a bill for the increase of the army twenty thousand men, making the whole permanent military establishment fifty-six thousand.

*Debates on the War Bills.* In the discussion of these reports, the speakers on either side, took a wide range on the general subject of the war, on the expediency and necessity of continuing it, on the objects to be obtained, and the manner of conducting it. Mr. Williams, in introducing the army bill, fully explained the views of the military committee. ‘Two great objects,” he said, “were to be obtained by the military force proposed to be raised: one, the complete defence of the country; the other, offensive war, the object of which was to make the enemy feel that it had become his interest to abstain from oppression and plunder. For defence, the jurisdictional limits of the United States should be divided into military districts; each district to be intrusted to an intelligent officer of high grade, who should have under his command certain portions of the artillery and infantry of the regular army, with instructions to call in aid the adjacent militia, as there should be occasion. That a corps of flying artillery should be established on the sea-board, which could be rapidly directed to the most exposed points. That a skilful engineer should be appointed, and directed to devise plans, and superintend the erection of such works of defence as might be necessary.” He then proceeded to enumerate the military districts, and the least number of troops to be allotted to each, making an aggregate of ten thousand, for the defence

of the country. Mr. Williams next called the attention of the house to the East Florida frontier. "Danger," he stated, "there already exists. In its present state it was improveable by an enemy to the essential injury of the United States. It was perfectly within the control of the British for every military purpose, and no greater force would be required for the United States to occupy it, than would be necessary to guard that frontier if they did not. It ought therefore, as a measure of precaution, to be occupied."

*In favour.* On the subject of offensive war, he remarked, "that the British regular force in the Canadas could not be estimated at less than twelve thousand men. In addition to these, were the Canadian militia, amounting to several thousand, and three thousand regulars at Halifax. To drive this force from the field, the St. Lawrence must be crossed with a well appointed army of twenty thousand men, supported by an army of reserve of ten thousand. Peace is not to be expected but at the expense of vigorous and successful war. Administration have in vain sued for it, even at the expense of the sarcastic sneers of the British minister. The campaign of 1813 must be opened in a style of vigour, calculated to inspire confidence in ourselves, and awe in the enemy. Nothing must be left to chance; our movements must every where be in concert. At the same moment, we move on Canada, a corps of ten thousand men must threaten Halifax from the province of Maine.

"The honour and character of the nation require that the British power on our borders should be annihilated the next campaign. Her American provinces once wrested from her, every attempt to recover them will be chimerical, except by negotiation. The road to peace then lies through Canada. Once possessed of Canada, an honourable peace is secured. The disasters of the last campaign, owing to the cowardice of one officer, and the inexperience of others, forbid the permanent employment of the militia or volunteers for the purposes of



war, and ought to stimulate to new and more vigorous exertions with improved means."

*Against.* The views of the advocates of peace were ably explained and defended by Mr. Quincy, of Massachusetts, in a speech on the army bill. "This bill," he observed, "proposed to augment the army by an addition of twenty thousand men: this extension would raise the army to fifty-five thousand. The committee of foreign relations have stated that the existing military establishment is sufficient for all the purposes of defence. This new army is professedly intended for the conquest of Canada. This he would consider, first, on its own merits, and secondly, as the means of obtaining peace. It was the deliberate, confirmed opinion of that portion of the Union, that he represented," Mr. Quincy observed, "that the invasion of Canada was cruel, wanton, senseless, and wicked; that for the offences of a people in the other hemisphere, we should visit with fire and sword an innocent and unoffending people in our neighbourhood, connected with us by numerous acts of friendly intercourse. Antecedent to this war, there subsisted between Canada and the United States an intercourse of the most amiable and interesting nature. The people on both sides of the St. Lawrence were but as one family, intermarrying, and living in the constant reciprocation of friendly offices. As enemies, there was nothing to fear from them. Seven millions could have nothing to apprehend from half a million. Like the giant crushing the pigmy, there was no glory to be obtained in the conquest. Nor could it in any degree affect Great Britain to our advantage. It was our invasion of Canada, which gave new strength to the British ministry at the late election. The British nation were willing to support America in principle; but when they saw in the first onset, the war was carried against their harmless colonists, sympathy enlisted them on their side, and produced such an effect at the elections as might be expected.

“He would next consider the invasion of Canada as the means of obtaining peace. In that view it is addressed to the fears of Great Britain. The history of that country, from its earliest period, has always evinced that she was not operated upon by threats. She always sacrifices the present to the future, meets danger half way, and yields nothing to menaces. If Great Britain saw that this was a threat we meant to execute, and was sure the conquest of Canada would be effected; just in proportion as she was sure of that, in the same proportion would the chance of accommodation with her be diminished.”\*

The general principles advocated by Mr. Williams and others in favour of war, and the measures recommended by the committees of foreign relations and military affairs, were undoubtedly well calculated to accomplish the object. Could a well appointed army of twenty thousand effective men have crossed the St. Lawrence early in the spring of 1813, supported by a reserve of ten thousand, Canada must have fallen that season. But the difference between an army, as it appears in the debates and acts of Congress, where the ranks are to be filled by voluntary enlistment, and an army in the field, is immense. The requisite officers of every grade were readily found, but the total failure of the recruiting service presented the mere skeleton of an army in the field. The proposed measures were adopted by large majorities; and laws were consequently passed, authorizing the increase of the regular army by an addition of twenty thousand men, raising ten additional companies of rangers, appointing six additional major generals, and six additional brigadiers, and increasing the number of officers of the subordinate grades, and giving higher bounties to recruits.

The military occupation of East Florida, as recommended by Mr. Williams, was viewed by Congress as an act of direct hostility against Spain, and prematurely and unadvisedly

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\* Debates in congress, January 1813.

making her a party to the war. Though her territories in the Floridas might be improved by the British to the disadvantage of the United States, yet the majority of Congress seem disposed to wait until some act of Spain, manifestly violating American rights, should justify the measure.

*Report of Naval Committee.* The committee on naval affairs, with the aid of the secretary of the navy, and some of the most experienced naval officers, took an extensive view of the subject of naval defence, and made an able and lucid report; in which they stated, "that for the defence of the coast, and the protection of commerce, a respectable navy was necessary: that although it was not desirable, nor within the power of the United States, to create a navy which should be able to meet the collected force of Britain on the ocean, yet such a navy might and ought to be provided, as would be adequate to guard the coast, and protect commerce: that Great Britain could not with safety, at any one time, send to the American station a considerable portion of her navy. The protection of her own waters forbade it. While they had no access to the ports of the United States, and received no supplies from them, the expenses of supplying their ships would be enormous. They remarked that it would take a much less force to guard, than to assail the coast. That for the purpose of defence, some vessels of a larger size must be provided. While the British had ships of the line on the coast, frigates must not be altogether depended on. The same force in a number of frigates would not be sufficient to attack a seventy-four; the heavier metal of the latter would probably enable her to sink or destroy the former with but partial injury to herself.

*Comparison between Seventy-fours and Frigates.* They next proceeded to give a comparative estimate of the value in service, and of the expense of building, seventy-fours and frigates. According to an estimate of the secretary of the navy, detailed with great minuteness, the force of three frigates

would not be more than equal to one seventy-four. The expense of building and equipping a frigate of forty-four guns, taken from the actual cost of the President, was \$220,910. The cost of a seventy-four, \$333,000. The annual expense of keeping a frigate of that size in service, was estimated at \$110,000; and that of a seventy-four at \$210,110. The result from these calculations, was, that while the expenses of a seventy-four were something less than that of two frigates of forty-four guns, her value in service was equal to three.

When engaged in war with a distant maritime power, ships of the line were best calculated to defend the coast, and protect the inward and outward bound commerce. Without them, the first object of such an enemy would be to restrain American frigates and cruisers, from leaving our harbours, and preying on their commerce. By keeping their large ships, parading on the coast, threatening the most exposed towns, preventing the departure of small cruisers, capturing what small portion of commerce may have escaped their cruisers on the ocean, and recapturing such as they have lost, they are able to carry on a warfare, easy and profitable to themselves, and destructive to their enemies.

Should a more important object present itself, they could withdraw their ships for a time without great hazard, and return in season to shut out those cruisers with their prizes, that might have gone out in their absence. They would be able at all times to consult their own convenience in point of time and numbers, and need incur no expense and risk of transport, but can go and procure their supplies at pleasure before their absence is known to their enemy.

To prevent these evils, the American navy ought, in the opinion of the committee, to consist of a mixed force, of ships of the line, frigates of forty and thirty-two guns, and corvettes of sixteen. The inner squadron, or guarda costa, to be composed of the ships of the line, and a few smaller frigates, and corvettes for look-out vessels. "Such a defence," the committee remark, "must produce one of two results; either the



enemy would be obliged to abandon the coast, or bring on a force at least double that of the Americans, at all the hazards of leaving their own waters unprotected, and maintaining their ships at sea without harbours for shelter, and at the great expense and risk of provisioning and watering them by transports. If, under these disadvantages, they should be unable to maintain a superiority on the coast, the door will be kept open for the ingress and egress of cruisers with their prizes, and the small classes of ships may be sent in pursuit of the cruisers and commerce of the enemy."

*Dry Docks.* "The committee also recommend a dry dock, into which vessels may be introduced and the water then taken out by drains and pumps, as indispensable for repairing large ships. Without the aid of such a dock, a ship of war wanting repairs to her bottom, or that is in need of coppering, must be turned down on her side to undergo that repair; to prepare her for this operation, her upper masts must be taken down, her guns, stores, water-casks, ballast, and ammunition taken out, which occasions a great waste and loss of time and labour. The preparation to dock a ship requires but a few hours. All that is necessary is to take out her guns, and to pump the water out of her water-casks, and when docked, the repairs of her bottom can progress on both sides at the same time. Ships wanting thorough repair, require all the planks to be stripped off, and their beams, knees, and clamps taken out; these are all they have to bind their frames together, and thereby preserve their shape; when stripped of them to make room for new, they are liable, if in the water, to hog, from the greatest weight and body of timber being in the fore and after ends, at which places there is no pressure upwards caused by the water: as these ends are sharp, the two extremities of the ship are liable to sink in the water, while the body or middle of the ship rises with the upward pressure of the water, something in the form of a hog's back. Another consideration is, that the bolting of a ship ought to be driven from the outside, but when re-

paired afloat, they must be driven from the inside, and are neither so strong, nor so well secured. These considerations induced gentlemen best acquainted with naval affairs strongly to recommend the establishment of a dry dock for repairing ships of war.

The unparalleled success of the infant navy of the United States had inspired a universal confidence in that mode of warfare, and rendered every measure for the increase of the navy popular. The views of the committee, of the secretary of the navy, and of Captains Stewart, Hull, and Morris, who assisted with their communications in making the report, were fully supported in Congress, in relation to the nature and increase of the naval force. Four seventy-fours, six additional forty-fours, and six sloops of war, were ordered to be built, and put in commission immediately. As large a force also on the lakes was ordered to be provided, as was calculated would be sufficient to establish the ascendancy in that quarter. But unfortunately for the interests of the United States, this maritime force appeared only on the journals of Congress. The most numerous and expensive part of their real navy, consisted of one hundred and sixty gun-boats seeking their own safety in the creeks and shoals of the coast. The creation of a navy was found to be a work of time, and before it could be accomplished, the evils which it was destined to prevent, were realized.

*Treasury Estimates.* The treasury estimates of expenditures for the year 1813, were,

For the civil list, and interest, and reimbursement of a part of the principal of the public debt, . . . . .	\$8,500,000
For the army, not including the new levies, . . .	17,000,000
For the navy, not including the proposed increase, . . . . .	4,925,000
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	\$30,425,000

The appropriations actually made for the service of the year, were,

Civil department and miscellaneous services, . .	\$1,500,000
Military, including unexpended balances, . . .	21,500,000
Naval, including the proposed increase, . . .	8,500,000
Public debt, . . . . .	8,000,000
Additional naval officers, . . . . .	350,000
Bounties to the crews of Constitution and Wasp,	125,000

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\$39,975,000

Fifty thousand dollars were ordered to be paid to the officers and crew of the Constitution, for the destruction of the Guerriere, and the like sum for the destruction of the Java. Twenty-five thousand dollars were given to the officers and crew of the Wasp, for the capture of the Frolic. An act was also passed declaring it to be lawful for any persons to burn, sink, or destroy any British armed vessels, by torpedoes, submarine instruments, or any other destructive machine, and giving a bounty to the amount of one half the value of such vessel, armament, apparel, and cargo, to any persons who should accomplish their destruction.

The committee of ways and means, reported an estimate of the whole revenue exclusive of loans, to amount to twelve millions : that the residue of the appropriations should be supplied by loans ; for this purpose, that a loan of twenty-one millions was necessary ; ten of which was to be obtained by issuing treasury notes to that amount, bearing an interest of five and two-fifths per cent. These were calculated to supply in some measure a circulating medium, to be issued for the purchase of supplies, and payment of the troops, or sold in market. The remaining eleven millions were to be obtained by creating and selling in market, United States' stock, bearing an interest of six per cent., and reimbursable in twelve years. The stock not to be sold at a greater discount than at the rate of eighty-eight dollars cash for one hundred dollars stock.

*Merchants' Bonds discharged.* Immediately after the revocation of the orders in council, American merchants purchased in England, goods to the amount of nearly forty millions, and shipped them to the United States on the presumption that the non-importation law would be repealed. The declaration of war having prevented the repeal, these goods were liable to be seized and condemned on their arrival in the American ports. In several instances, American privateers, falling in with vessels laden with these goods, took possession of them, and sent them in as prizes. The custom-house officers, under the direction of the secretary of the treasury, seized these goods, and libelled them in the maritime courts. The goods, by order of the courts, were released to the owners, upon their giving bonds to pay the appraised value of them, into the treasury of the United States. The claims of the owners of the privateers, to those that were captured and sent in, was at once disallowed by the court. Application was made to Congress at an early period of the session, for a discharge of those bonds and a remission of the forfeitures incurred. The duties on these importations would amount to nearly ten millions, and afford a very seasonable aid to the treasury. The application was favourably received, and an act passed discharging the bonds, and the penalties incurred, upon the payment of the duties and costs arisen on the prosecutions.

It was an essential part of the system of finance proposed at the commencement of the war, to provide for the punctual payment of the interest on the war loans, by a system of internal duties and direct taxes. This was absolutely necessary to support public credit, and render future loans obtainable on any reasonable terms. No receipt of any consequence could be calculated upon at the treasury, at a shorter period than a year after the imposition of the taxes. In the mean time interest upon the loans first obtained, would fall due, and further loans would be called for. On these considerations, it was expected that the present Congress would



at an early period, arrange the system, and impose the taxes. But notwithstanding they had been in session thirteen months out of the twenty-four, for which they were elected, they did not find time to arrange this important business, and bequeathed the unpleasant task to their successors.

*Law of Retaliation.* The shocking barbarities practised by the Indians, under the command of the British, and by their permission, at the river Raisin, excited 'universal indignation, and induced the passing of a law authorizing the President, whenever there had been any violations of the laws and usages of war, or any outrage or acts of cruelty and barbarity, perpetrated on any citizens of the United States, or any persons in their land or naval service, by those acting under authority of the British government, or by the Indians in alliance or connexion with, or acting under their authority, to cause full and ample retaliation to be executed on any British subject, soldier, or seaman, prisoners of war in the United States.

The British alleged in excuse for themselves, their inability to control the Indians. This excuse, however, was generally not true in point of fact; and if true, would afford no reasonable justification. It only threw the guilt one step further back, and placed the criminality of employing savages whom they could not control, in a more conspicuous point of view. Happily for the honour and magnanimity of the American nation, the severe though just law of retaliation was never executed. It was too revolting to the humane feelings of Americans, to visit the iniquities of the government, or their guilty agents, on innocent and unfortunate prisoners.

## CHAPTER VIII.

British Plan of the Campaign for 1813.—American Plan.—Division of the United States into Military Districts.—Arrival of the British Reinforcements at Bermuda.—Proclamations of Blockade.—Arrival and Proceedings of the Squadron in the Delaware.—Arrival of the British Squadron at Lynnhaven Bay.—Plundering on the Shores of the Chesapeake.—Burning of Havre de Grace.—Plundering and Burning of Fredericktown, and Georgetown.—Arrival of Admiral Warren, and Sir Sidney Beckwith, with Reinforcements.—Norfolk threatened.—Attack on Craney Island.—Capture of Hampton.—Plunder and Outrages at Hampton.—Correspondence between the American and British Generals on the subject of the Outrages.—Attempt to destroy the Plantagene twith a Torpedo.—An attempt on the Ramilies with a Torpedo, and a Fire-Ship.—Squadron proceed up the Potomac and threaten Alexandria and Washington.—Proceed up the Bay, and threaten Annapolis and Baltimore.—Admiral Cockburn proceeds to the South.—Blockade of Comodore Decatur's Squadron at New-London.—Naval Challenge.—Decline.

*British Plan of Operation for 1813.* THE distinguished naval success of the Americans in the year 1812 was in a high degree mortifying to British pride. To be beaten on ground which they claimed exclusively as their own, and by a navy which they despised, was not to be endured. To apologize for such an event, American frigates were called seventy-fours in disguise, and greatly overrated in men and guns. British commerce had suffered severely by the public and private armed ships of the United States. To guard against similar events in the succeeding year, the British determined on a more vigorous prosecution of naval warfare. No actions were to be hazarded with American ships but with such superior force as would ensure success, and except in one or two instances, no American ship was ever afterwards attacked, but where the difference was greatly in fa-

vous of the British. The coast was to be closely blockaded, so as to prevent the egress of vessels, and the return of them with their prizes. Every thing American which floated, was to be captured or destroyed, and a large armament was to be kept constantly hovering on the coast, which should continually threaten and harass the different maritime towns, and in this manner, as some of their officers expressed themselves, chastise America into submission. With these views, the principal disposable force of Great Britain was destined for the sea-board. No greater reinforcements were to be sent to Canada, than what were deemed sufficient to retain their possessions. The success of the allied powers against France in the year 1812, greatly relieved England from the pressure of the continental war, and enabled her, with more effect, to pursue her hostile measures against America.

*American.* The American government, on the other hand, determined to open the campaign of 1813 with a regular army of fifty-five thousand men, to be aided by occasional calls of militia and volunteers. The main body of the regular forces was destined for the conquest of Canada. For the purposes of defence, the United States were divided into nine military districts.

Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, to compose . . .	No. 1
Rhode-Island and Connecticut, . . . . .	2
New-York from the sea to the highlands, and the state of New-Jersey, . . . . .	3
Pennsylvania from its eastern limit to the Alleghany mountains, and Delaware, . . . . .	4
Maryland and Virginia, . . . . .	5
The two Carolinas and Georgia, . . . . .	6
The states of Tennessee, Louisiana, and the Mississippi territory, . . . . .	7
Kentucky, Ohio, and the territorial governments of Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Michigan, . . . . .	8
Pennsylvania from the Alleghany mountains westward, New-York north of the highlands, and Vermont, . . .	9

To each of the districts was assigned a general officer of the United States army, whose duty it was to superintend and direct all the means of defence, and military operations within his district. Small detachments of regular troops were stationed at the most exposed points on the sea-board, to form a rallying point for the militia in case of invasion. The commandant of the district was authorized to call upon the executives of the states for such portions of the militia most convenient to the threatened point, as he should deem necessary. The operations of the militia to be combined with the regular force, and the whole to be under the direction of the commandant of the district, and while in service, to be paid and supported by the United States.

With these views of the contending parties, the campaign of 1813 commenced. In the course of the winter, a large reinforcement arrived at Bermuda, consisting of several ships of war and transports, with a considerable land force on board, furnished with shells and rockets for the purpose of attacking the most exposed cities on the sea-board. A portion of this land force consisted of French prisoners, who, rather than be confined for an indefinite period in the English prison of Dartmoor, had been induced to embark in the British service.

*British Blockade of the Southern Ports.* On the 26th of December, 1812, an order in council was issued, declaring the ports and harbours in the Chesapeake and Delaware bays, to be in a state of strict and rigorous blockade; on the 26th of the May following, the blockade was extended to New-York, and all the southern ports.\* Early in March, a fleet consisting of four seventy-fours, six frigates, and a number of smaller vessels of war, arrived in the Chesapeake under Admiral Cockburn. About the same time three

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\* Orders in council of the 26th of December, 1812, and 26th of May, 1813.



seventy-fours and several small vessels, appeared in the Delaware under Commodore Beresford.

*Operations in the Delaware.* On the 16th of March, the Delaware squadron made a demand of supplies from the inhabitants of Lewistown, a considerable village on the Delaware shore, offering to pay the Philadelphia prices, in case they were voluntarily furnished, and threatening to destroy the town in case of refusal. Such proposals, addressed to a people opposed in principle to the war, was expected to bring in an abundant supply; but the patriotic citizens of this village peremptorily refused; informing the commodore, that they could hold no correspondence with an enemy, without subjecting themselves to the penalties of treason. They gave immediate information to the governor of Delaware, who called out a considerable body of militia and placed the town in a respectable state of defence. On the 6th of April, the demand was renewed, and on being again refused, the Belvidera with two smaller vessels, anchored close under the town, and commenced a bombardment; this was spiritedly returned by the militia under Colonel Davis, from a battery erected in a commanding position. On the afternoon of the 7th, the British attempted to land, but were met at the water's edge and driven back to their ships. The blockading squadron then left their moorings above Lewis, and dropped down to Newbold's ponds, a watering place seven miles below. Here they again attempted to land and obtain water from the ponds, and were again met by a detachment of the militia from Lewis under Colonel Hunter, and compelled to retire and abandon their object. The squadron failing to obtain the necessary supplies in the Delaware, soon afterwards returned to Bermuda.

*In the Chesapeake.* In the Chesapeake, the blockading squadron took their station in Lynnhaven bay, near the entrance of the Chesapeake, and commenced a disgraceful scene of plunder and devastation. Light vessels traversed the bay in every direction, capturing and destroying all the

fishing-boats and bay craft within their reach; frequently landing, and plundering and burning defenceless farm-houses, seducing, and taking away negroes, and driving off the stock; on the appearance of any considerable opposition, these marauders immediately took to their ships. On the 3d of April, three frigates, two brigs, and a schooner, entered the Rappahannock, and attacked the Dolphin privateer, and three letters of marque, which were there preparing for sea. The letters of marque were immediately taken. The privateer sustained an action of two hours, when the British succeeded in boarding her with the loss of fifty men killed and wounded.

The cities of Baltimore, Norfolk, and Annapolis, and all the smaller towns and villages on the waters of the Chesapeake, were kept in a constant state of alarm. Many of the inhabitants of the most exposed towns removed, with their valuable effects, into the interior. Great exertions were made to place the most considerable towns in a respectable state of defence. On the 16th of April, a large force appeared at the mouth of the Patapsco, twelve miles below the city of Baltimore; took the Baltimore packets and a number of small craft, and threatened an attack on the city. Finding it well defended, they proceeded up to Havre de Grace, near the head of the bay, at the mouth of the Susquehannah. On their way, they plundered and burnt Frenchtown, a village consisting of five or six dwelling-houses, and several stores and stables, being the place of deposit on the line of packets and stages between the cities of Baltimore and Philadelphia.

*Destruction of Havre de Grace.* The attack on Havre de Grace commenced by bombardment from the shipping, at daylight, on the 3d of May. The frightened inhabitants, awakened by the thunder of the cannon, fled in every direction; a few repaired to the beach, where a battery with several pieces of artillery had been planted as a kind of defence against small watering parties; after discharging a few shots, they fled on the approach of the barges, with the

exception of a citizen by the name of O'Neale, originally from Ireland, stationed at one of the guns, he continued loading and firing it alone, to the imminent hazard of his life, after his fellow-citizens had fled, until by the recoiling of the piece, he was severely wounded in the thigh: he then with difficulty retreated into the town, and fought them with his musket, until a British officer rode up with several marines and made him prisoner. On board the Maidstone frigate he was threatened with execution for being of Irish extract, but was afterwards released upon the application of the magistrates of the town. The British landed with Admiral Cockburn at their head, and proceeded without further resistance to the work of destruction. The town was given up to the plunder of the soldiery, and burnt. Mrs. Rodgers, wife of the commodore, Mrs. Pinckney, and Mrs. Goldsborough, with several other ladies of distinction, sought shelter at an elegant country-seat of Mr. Pringle's, a short distance from the village. When the British came to burn the house, Mrs. Goldsborough met the officer, and entreated that the house might be spared on account of her aged mother, who could not be removed. The officer replied, that he acted under the admiral's orders, and she must obtain his consent. She immediately sought the admiral, and obtained his permission that the house might be spared, but when she returned, found it on fire, and two men coming out loaded with plunder. Mr. Pinckney and Mrs. Goldsborough, with the assistance of two marines, succeeded in extinguishing the flames. Having destroyed the village, one party proceeded several miles on the Baltimore road, plundering and burning the farm-houses, and every thing within their reach; another proceeded up the Susquehannah, committing similar ravages.

*Of Fredericktown and Georgetown.* On the 6th, they re-embarked and proceeded down the bay, to Sassafras creek. A few miles up this creek were the villages of Fredericktown and Georgetown, of about forty or fifty houses each, situated on opposite sides of the river. At Fredericktown a number

of small vessels had taken shelter as a place of safety. These villages, with the shipping, underwent the same scene of plunder and conflagration as had been practised at Havre de Grace. The private property plundered and destroyed at Havre was estimated at sixty thousand, and at the two other villages at seventy thousand dollars.

On the 1st of June, Admiral Warren entered the Chesapeake with a considerable naval reinforcement, and a number of land troops and marines, under the command of Sir Sidney Beckwith. The British force now in the Chesapeake consisted of eight ships of the line, twelve frigates, and a considerable number of small vessels. Such a force evidently indicated an attack upon some more important point. From the movement of the squadron to Hampton roads, it appeared that Norfolk was the object. The defence of this city depended on a squadron of about twenty gunboats, the frigate *Constellation*, and the fortifications on Craney Island. The frigate was anchored between two forts, situate on each-side Elizabeth river, which command the approach to Norfolk. On the 21st, 15 gun-boats, under the command of Captain Tarbel, attacked the *Junon*, the foremost British frigate, at the distance of three quarters of a mile; the action continued upwards of an hour with considerable damage to the frigate, when, on the nearer approach of a *razee*, the gun-boats hauled off.

*Attack on Craney Island.* Before the British could enter the harbour of Norfolk and approach the town, it was necessary to take possession of Craney Island. On the morning of the 22d, they were discovered passing round the point of Nansemond river, and landing on the main land in a position where the passage was fordable, with a view to pass over and attack the works on the west side of the Island, while at the same time a number of barges from the fleet attempted to land in front. These were attacked before they reached the shore from a battery on the beach, manned by the sailors and marines from the *Constellation* and the gun-boats.



Three of the barges were sunk, most of the men drowned, and the rest compelled to retreat to their shipping. The party which landed at Nansemond, were met and repulsed by the Virginia militia, and driven back to their ships, with the loss, including those in the barges, of upwards of two hundred in killed and wounded. The city of Norfolk and the neighbouring villages of Gosport and Portsmouth, owed their safety to this gallant defence of Craney Island.

*Ravages at Hampton.* Defeated in their attempt on Norfolk, the armament proceeded to Hampton, a village at the head of the bay which runs up north from James river, eighteen miles above Norfolk. This village was defended by a garrison of four hundred and fifty militia, protected by some slight fortifications. Admiral Cockburn, on the 25th of June, with his forces, advanced towards the town in barges and small vessels, throwing shells and rockets, while Sir Sidney Beckwith effected a landing below with two thousand men. Cockburn's party were repulsed by the garrison, and driven back behind a point, until General Beckwith's troops advanced and compelled the garrison to retire. The town being now completely in the possession of the British, was given up to pillage. Many of the inhabitants had fled with their valuable effects; those who remained suffered the most shameful barbarities. That renegado corps, composed of French prisoners accustomed to plunder and murder in Spain, and who had been induced to enter the British service by promises of similar indulgence in America, were now to be gratified, and were let loose upon the wretched inhabitants of Hampton without restraint. For two days the town was given up to unrestrained pillage; private property was plundered and wantonly destroyed; unarmed and unoffending individuals grossly abused; females violated; and in one instance, an aged sick man murdered in the arms of his wife, who, at the same time, was dangerously wounded. A collection of well-attested facts, made by a committee of Congress respecting

the outrages at Hampton, stand on their journals as lasting monuments of disgrace to the British nation.

*Correspondence between General Taylor and Sir Sidney Beckwith.* General Taylor, the commanding officer at Norfolk, addressed a note to Admiral Warren on this subject, in which he remarks, "that it was with grief and astonishment he had heard of these excesses. The world will suppose these acts to have been approved if not excited by the commanders, if suffered to pass by with impunity. I am prepared for any species of warfare which you are disposed to prosecute. It is for the sake of humanity that I enter this protest. It will hereafter depend on you, whether the evils inseparable from a state of war, shall in our operations be tempered by the mildness of civilized life, or under your authority be aggravated by all the fiend-like passions which can be enlisted into them." General Beckwith, as commander of the land forces, by whom these outrages were principally committed, replied, "that these excesses were occasioned by a proceeding of so extraordinary a nature, that had he not been an eye-witness to it, he would not have credited it. At the recent attempt on Craney Island, the troops, he stated, in one of the barges sunk by the fire of the American guns, clung to the wreck; several Americans waded off from the island, and in the presence of all engaged, fired upon and shot them. With a feeling natural to such an occasion, the troops of that corps landed at Hampton."

General Taylor, replied that "he was satisfied such a scene did not take place, and if it had, satisfaction ought to have been demanded, before retaliation so extravagant in measure, and applying not to the perpetrators of the offence, but to the innocent and helpless, was resorted to. That he had ordered an inquiry to be made into the facts, and effectual measures should be taken to punish any misconduct. A board of field officers to whom the subject was referred, reported, that it appeared from the testimony, that in the action at Craney Island, two of the enemy's boats in front of their line

were sunk by the batteries ; the troops in the boats were afloat and in danger of drowning, and being in front of the boats which were still engaged, the firing necessarily continued, and was in the direction of the men in the water, but with no intention of doing them any further harm ; on the contrary, orders were given to prevent this by ceasing to fire grape, and to fire round shot. One of the British who had apparently surrendered, advanced towards the shore about one hundred yards, then suddenly turned to the right and endeavoured to escape, he was fired upon to bring him back, which had the desired effect. The troops on the island exerted themselves in acts of kindness to the unresisting foe.”\* The transmission of this report to Sir Sidney Beckwith, ended the correspondence on the subject of the outrages, and the troops re-embarked from Hampton on the 27th of June.

*Effects of British Outrages.* The British appeared to have had two objects in view in their system of plunder and devastation in the Chesapeake ; one, to gratify their troops with pillage ; the other to render the calamities of war so distressing to the inhabitants as that the sufferers and those exposed to similar sufferings, should compel the government to make peace upon their own terms. As to the latter object, the effects of this system were the reverse of their expectations. The war, unpopular among a great portion of the American people at its commencement, lost that character and acquired new popularity by every act of barbarity in the enemy. The peaceful citizen who could only with the utmost reluctance be compelled to contribute his service or property to the conquest of Canada, was ready to devote his all to the protection of his altars, fireside, and family, and those of his neighbours, from the wanton violations of a barbarous foe. Either from the orders of their government, with a view to detach the northern section of the union from the war, or the accidental difference in the character of the commanders,

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\* Correspondence between General Taylor and Sir Sidney Beckwith.

the blockading squadrons north of the Chesapeake conducted their operations upon the liberal principles of civilized warfare. Commodore Hardy, to whom the blockade of New-London and Long Island Sound was intrusted, was distinguished for the humane and liberal manner in which it was conducted.

*Torpedoes.* The act of the last session of Congress encouraging and rewarding the destruction of British vessels by submarine instruments or other destructive machinery, induced a variety of essays to accomplish such an object. The attempt which approached nearest to success, was made by Mr. Mix, a gentleman of ingenuity and enterprize belonging to the navy. Having spent several weeks in preparing a torpedo, he made an essay upon the Plantagenet, a British seventy-four at anchor in Lynnhaven bay. On the evening of the 18th of July, he put off from his rendezvous, in a large open boat which he called the "Chesapeake's Revenge," assisted by Captain Bowman of Salem, and Midshipman M'Gowan of the United States navy, and having ascertained the position of the ship, he approached within fifty fathoms and dropped his torpedo; at the same instant he was hailed by the British guard-boats, which induced him immediately to take up his machine, and retreat. On the 19th, he made another unsuccessful attempt. On the 20th, he succeeded in getting under the ship's jib-boom, within fifteen yards of her bow; here he continued fifteen minutes undiscovered, making preparations, when at the moment he was ready to launch his instrument of destruction, he was hailed by the centinel in the forecastle, and compelled to decamp. The centinel, not being answered, fired his musket, which was followed by a rapid discharge of small arms. Blue lights were then made to find the boat, but failed; rockets were thrown in every direction, which illuminated the water for a considerable distance, and discovered their nocturnal visiter making a rapid retreat; the ship then commenced a sharp fire of heavy guns, slipped her cables, and made sail, while her boats were



despatched in pursuit. The daring intruders directly getting out of the lights of the rockets, escaped unhurt. The unwelcome visits were repeated on the nights of the 21st, 22d, and 23d, without success, as the ship having taken the alarm changed her position every night. On the 24th, Mr. Mix, having succeeded in discovering the position of the ship, approached within a hundred yards, and dropped the fatal machine into the water, just as the centinel on deck cried out "all's well." It sunk about ten feet, the tide floated it down unperceived to within a few yards of the bottom of the ship, when it exploded with a most terrific sound. A pyramid of water nearly fifty feet in circumference, was thrown up forty or fifty feet into the air with the appearance of vivid red, tinged with a beautiful purple, when it burst at the top with a terrible explosion, and fell in torrents on the deck of the ship, which rolled into the chasm below and nearly upset. The forechannel of the ship was blown off, and a boat which lay along side with several men in her, was thrown into the air in the convulsion of the waters. The ship's crew were panic-struck, and most of them betook themselves to the boats. Had the explosion been delayed a few moments until the machine had struck the bottom of the ship, it must have been fatal. A line of torpedoes was prepared to be set at short notice, in the ship channel at the narrows, between Long and Staten Islands, in such manner that seventy-fours passing up to New-York, must necessarily disturb and cause them to explode, and expose the ships to destruction.\* One torpedo was prepared at New-London designed for the destruction of the *Ramiles*, and proceeded in the darkness of a still and cloudy night, to the object of its destination; but neither the machine, boat, nor managers, were ever afterwards heard of.

*Explosion of the Eagle.* On the 25th of June, the schooner *Eagle* was fitted out from New-York, having on board a large

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\* Niles's Register, vol. 4, page 366.

magazine of powder, and a considerable quantity of flour and other articles adapted to the wants of the British squadron. A spring-lock was fixed to a cask of the powder, which was connected by a string to a flour-barrel, so that when it was attempted to be removed, the lock must spring, and the magazine explode. The authors of this stratagem calculated that the British, in their usual manner, would take possession of the schooner, and bring her alongside of the *Ramilies* to unlade, when the explosion would take place, and destroy the ship. The *Eagle*, thus freighted, proceeded to the harbour of New-London; and as she neared the *Ramilies*, three barges approached, and her crew left her. The barges took possession; but as the wind was contrary, they were unable to conduct her to the ship, and began to remove her lading into the boats, when they sprang the lock, and the schooner, barges, and men, instantly disappeared. The British affected to consider this as a barbarous and unjustifiable mode of attack, unwarranted by the usages of civilized nations. Two answers were given to their remonstrances on this subject: one, that their cruel and wanton outrages on the peaceable inhabitants of the coast warranted any mode of defence calculated to afford protection: the other, that stratagems in war are always justifiable; and the modes of attack of which they complained stood on the same ground as sapping, mining, and ambuscades on land. These experiments, though unsuccessful as to the main object, had the effect of rendering the enemy more cautious in approaching, and taking stations in the American waters.

*Potomac.* On the 1st of July, the Chesapeake squadron, consisting of seven ships of the line, seven frigates, and eleven small vessels, with the troops on board, left Hampton roads, proceeded to the mouth of the Potomac, and entered that river, taking soundings, and marking out the channel with buoys. Their advance proceeded up the river within seventy miles of the city of Washington, and excited great alarm in that city, and at Alexandria and Georgetown. The defence of

these places from a naval attack, depended on fort Washington, formerly called fort Warburton, erected on Mason's Island in the Potomac, six miles below Alexandria. The works here were repaired, the garrison increased, the militia from the neighbouring country called in, and such an aspect of defence presented, as induced the British to withdraw from the river. They next proceeded up the bay and threatened Annapolis and Baltimore; but finding them in a formidable attitude of defence, made no attempt. The principal part of the squadron under Admiral Cockburn, soon afterwards left the bay, and proceeded to the south, alarming, and plundering the coast of the Carolinas; on that of North-Carolina, Cockburn entered the Ocracoke inlet, captured two privateers, and proceeded to the entrance of the Nease, with a view of attacking Newbern; but finding that place well guarded by the militia, he attacked the neighbouring town of Portsmouth, plundered it, and returned to the ships with a valuable booty, and a number of slaves, whom he induced to leave their masters under a promise of freedom, and afterwards sold in the West-Indies. He next proceeded to the coast of Georgia, took possession of Cumberland Island, and established his head-quarters during the winter, at the elegant mansion-house of the late General Greene, which he found in the possession of his daughter. The British admiral and officers paid a scrupulous regard to the rights of the occupant of this seat, while they committed their wonted depredations on the neighbouring coast.

*Blockade of New-London.* The principal harbours north of the Chesapeake were strictly blockaded. The frigates United States and Macedonian, and sloop of war Hornet, having been repaired in the port of New-York, and fitted for sea, attempted to go out on the 24th of May. A squadron of superior force lying off the narrows, made it necessary for them to take the passage through Hell-Gate, and Long-Island sound. To oppose their passage in this direction, there appeared off New-London harbour, two seventy-fours, a

razee, and a frigate, and chased the American squadron into that port. The British, under Commodore Hardy, anchored at the mouth of the harbour, just out of the reach of the guns of the forts; the Americans lightened out a part of their armament, and retired five miles up the Thames: for their protection, forts Trumbull and Griswold were strongly garrisoned, and corps of militia ordered in from the neighbouring country to prevent a landing. The vigilance of the blockading squadron prevented any opportunity for escape; and confined the frigates to the river until the close of the war. The *Endymion*, and *Statira*, composed a part of the blockading squadron, and were of equal force with the *United States* and *Macedonian*. Commodore Hardy remarked to Captain Moran, who had been captured, and carried on board the *Ramilies*, "that he should have no objections to a meeting's taking place between the frigates, but could not allow the challenge to proceed from the English commanders."

*Challenge given by Commodore Decatur.—Declined.* Captain Moran, being afterwards paroled, mentioned this conversation in the hearing of Commodore Decatur, who immediately despatched Captain Biddle with a proposition for a meeting. Having delivered his message, Captain Biddle was informed, that an answer would be returned by a flag the next day. The crews of the American frigates were assembled and received the proposition with hearty cheers; the officers and men were now in anxious expectation of being immediately led to battle and victory; when the British flag arrived with the unwelcome intelligence, that the challenge was declined.





## CHAPTER IX.

Naval Affairs.—Cruise of the President.—Of the Congress.—Of the Hornet.—Capture of the Peacock.—Captain Lawrence appointed to the command of the Chesapeake.—Challenge of the Shannon; accepted.—Capture of the Chesapeake.—Funeral of Lawrence and Ludlow, at Halifax.—Their Bodies removed to New-York.—Funeral Honours at Salem and New-York.—Cruise and Capture of the Argus. Death of Captain Allen.—Battle between the Enterprise and Boxer, and Capture of the latter.—Death and Funeral Honours of both Commanders.—Cruise of the Essex in the Atlantic.—Her Arrival in the Pacific.—Capture of a Peruvian Corsair.—Capture of Whale Ships.—Establishment at Madison Island.—Essex Junior.—Arrival of British Squadron.—Blockade of the Essex.—Battle between her and the British Squadron.—Capture of the Essex.—Return of Captain Porter and Crew to the United States.—Number and Value of British Prizes in 1813.

THE American frigates which were so fortunate as to elude the blockading squadrons, and get to sea in the year 1813, pursued the enemy with their wonted bravery and enterprise.

*Cruise of the President.* On the 23d of April, Commodore Rodgers, with the President, and Congress frigates, sailed from Boston on a cruise. They continued in company along the banks of Newfoundland until the eighth of May, when the President, having parted from the Congress, pursued her route to the northward, with a view to cross the tracks of the West-India, Halifax, and Quebec trade. From the 9th to the 13th of June, they made four prizes. They then shaped their course for the North Seas, to intercept vessels bound from the Irish Channel to Newfoundland, by the way of the north of Ireland. After remaining on this station several days without success, they proceeded to the North Cape for the purpose of intercepting a convoy of thirty sail, expected to leave

Archangel for England about the middle of July. On the 19th, the *President*, near the North Cape was chased by a line of battle ship and frigate. In this high latitude, the sun was several degrees above the horizon, during the whole twenty-four hours, which enabled the British to continue the chase by day-light uninterruptedly for eighty hours. Commodore Rodgers, by skilful manœvering, and extraordinary exertions, finally escaped, and made his way by the north-west coast of Ireland to the United States. On the 23d of September, on the American coast, he was discovered by the *High-Flier*, one of Admiral Warren's look-out ships. The British made a private signal, which by accident was answered by the Commodore, with the English corresponding one. The *High-Flier* immediatety made up to the *President*, and was captured. From her such information respecting the number and stations of the British force on the coast was obtained, as enabled the *President* to reach the harbour of Newport on the 27th of September, in safety. During the cruise, she made twelve prizes, three of which were destroyed, and the others sent into port.\* The Congress, after parting with the *President*, cruised in the latitude of the West-Indies, with a view of falling in with the British trade, but with little success: she made Portsmouth harbour on the 14th of December, having made only three prizes during her cruise.

*Hornet*. Captain Lawrence, of the *Hornet* sloop of war, continued on the coast of South America, blockading the *Bonne Citoyen* in the port of St. Salvador until the 24th of January, 1813, when he was compelled to retire on the appearance of the *Montague*, a seventy-four which had been sent for from Rio Janeiro to raise the blockade. On the 28th of December, Captain Lawrence, with the consent of Commodore Bainbridge, the commanding officer on that station, challenged the *Bonne Citoyen* to single combat; the commodore pledging himself to retire, so as that it should not be in his power to

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\* Commodore Rodgers's letter to the secretary of the navy.

give assistance. The challenge was declined. The propriety of giving or receiving naval challenges, was very much questioned, and had never been expressly approbated by the government. The disadvantage was altogether against America. If successful, the loss of a single ship of war was of very little consequence to Great Britain, and made no difference in her naval operations; if unsuccessful, the loss of a frigate was a serious injury to the American navy, and very much crippled its operations. After the events of 1812, such challenges were not necessary to establish the American naval character: it was known and feared abroad, and cherished and respected at home.

*Destruction of the Peacock.* On the 24th of February, off Demarara, Captain Lawrence fell in with the brig of war Peacock, and sunk her, after a close action of fifteen minutes: a few minutes before she went down, she struck her colours, and hoisted a signal of distress. The firing instantly ceased, and the boats of the Hornet immediately went to the relief of the crew; but were not able to save all. Thirteen of them, together with four of Captain Lawrence's men, who were on board endeavouring to get off the prisoners, went down with her. Three impressed American seamen, on board the Peacock, at the commencement of the action requested that they might go below, as they could not fight against their country; they were refused in the most insolent manner, and ordered to their quarters; one of them was killed in the action, the others taken on board the Hornet with the prisoners. The Peacock mounted twenty guns, and had a crew of one hundred and twenty-four men.\* On this event, the Halifax papers remark, "If a vessel had been moored for the sole purpose of experiment, it is not probable she could have been sunk in so short a time. It will not do for our vessels to fight theirs single-handed. The Americans are a dead nip." The number of prisoners now on board the Hornet, and the want of pro-

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\* Lawrence's letter to the secretary of the navy.



visions rendered it necessary for Captain Lawrence to return to the United States. The sailors of the *Hornet*, with the characteristic generosity of American tars, shared with the surviving crew of the *Peacock* their scanty provisions, and made each of them a present of two shirts, a jacket, and a pair of trowsers, to supply their wants occasioned by the sinking of their ship.

*Shannon and Chesapeake.* On his return to the United States, Captain Lawrence was promoted to the command of the *Chesapeake*, then ready for sea in Boston harbour. That port was then strictly blockaded by the *Shannon* and *Tenedos* frigates. Scarcely had Lawrence taken the command of his ship, when he received a challenge from Captain Brooke to meet the *Shannon* in single combat, giving a particular description of her armament, and engaging that the *Tenedos* should be out of the reach of assistance. There were powerful reasons which would have induced a more cautious commander than Captain Lawrence to have declined the challenge. The *Shannon* had the advantage in men and guns; she rated as a thirty-eight, but mounted fifty-two; the *Chesapeake* rated thirty-six, and mounted forty-eight; Captain Brooke could select his men from both ships; Captain Lawrence's first lieutenant was sick on shore, three others had recently left the ship; of the four which remained, two were only midshipmen, acting as lieutenants; part of his crew were new hands, and the others were complaining on account of arrearages of pay and prize-money, and from a long stay in port had lost much of their ardour; the ship and crew were strangers to him; and the *Chesapeake*, from her encounter with the *Leopard*, had the character of an unlucky ship. Under these embarrassments, Captain Lawrence accepted the challenge, and on the morning of the 1st of June, sailed out of the harbour to meet the *Shannon*: the latter observing her coming out, bore away. The *Chesapeake* followed her until four o'clock in the afternoon, when she hauled up and fired a gun, on which the *Shannon* hove too; both ships ma-

nœuvred for some time, until a quarter before six, when they approached within pistol-shot, and exchanged broadsides. These were both destructive, but the fire of the Shannon was most fatal in the destruction of officers; the fourth lieutenant Mr. Ballard, was mortally wounded, the sailing master was killed, and Captain Lawrence received a musket ball in his leg, which caused great pain and profuse bleeding, but he leaned on the companion way, and continued to give orders and animate his men. A second and third broadsides were exchanged with evident advantage to the Chesapeake, but unfortunately among the now wounded was the first lieutenant Mr. Ludlow who was carried below; three men were successively shot from the helm, in about twelve minutes from the commencement of the action, and as the hands were shifting, a shot disabled her foresail, so that she could no longer answer her helm, and her anchor caught in one of the after ports of the Shannon, which enabled the latter to rake her upper deck. As soon as Captain Lawrence perceived that she was falling to leeward, and that by the Shannon's filling she would fall on board, he called the boarders, and was giving orders about the foresail, when he received a musket-ball in his body. The bugle-man who should have called the boarders did not do his duty; and at this moment Commodore Brooke, whose ship had suffered so much that he was preparing to repel boarding, perceiving from this accident how the deck of the Chesapeake was swept, jumped on board with about twenty men; they would have been instantly repelled, but the captain, the first lieutenant, the sailing master, the boatswain, the lieutenant of marines, the only acting lieutenant on the spar deck, were all killed or disabled. At this moment Lieutenant Cox ran on deck, just in time to receive his falling commander and bear him below. Lieutenant Budd led up the boarders, but only fifteen or twenty would follow him, and with these he defended the ship until he was disabled. Lieutenant Ludlow, wounded as he was, having laid his commander in the ward-room, hurried

upon deck and soon received a mortal wound from a sabre. The marines who were engaged fought with desperate courage, but they were few in number, many of them having followed the boatswain's mate, a Portuguese, who exclaimed as he skulked below, "so much for not paying men their prize-money." Meanwhile the Shannon threw on board sixty additional men, who soon succeeded in overpowering the few remaining seamen of the Chesapeake, and taking possession of the ship, which was not surrendered by any signal of submission, but became the enemy's only because they were able to overwhelm all who were in a condition to resist. As Captain Lawrence was carried below, he perceived the melancholy condition of the Chesapeake, and exclaimed, "Don't give up the ship, let her flag wave while I live;" but it was too late to resist, the enemy had complete command of the ship. As Captain Lawrence's wounds would not admit of his removal, he lay in the ward-room surrounded by his wounded and dying officers, and after lingering in great pain four days, expired on the 5th of June. His body was wrapped in the colours of the Chesapeake and laid on the quarter-deck until their arrival in Halifax, where he and Lieutenant Ludlow were buried with the highest military and naval honours; their palls were supported by the oldest captains in the navy then in port, and no demonstrations of respect were omitted to honour the remains of the brave but unfortunate strangers. In this sanguinary conflict the Chesapeake lost her commander and forty-seven men killed, and ninety-seven wounded, of whom fourteen afterwards died. On the part of the Shannon, the first lieutenant, the purser, captain's clerk, and twenty-three seamen were killed, and Captain Brooke and fifty-seven seamen wounded.

The key of Captain Lawrence's store-room was demanded of the purser, who was compelled to give it up, observing at the same time, that in the capture of the *Guerriere*, *Macedonian*, and *Java*, the most scrupulous regard was paid to the private property of the British officers; that Captain Law-

rence had laid in stores for a long cruise, the value of which would be a great object to his widow and family, for whose use he was desirous of preserving them; his request was haughtily refused.

Captain Crowninshield, of Salem, having obtained permission from the President, prepared a ship at his own expense, and proceeded to Halifax with twelve masters of vessels as his crew; obtained the bodies of Captain Lawrence, and Lieutenant Ludlow, and returned to Salem with the remains of these gallant officers, on the 19th of August, where funeral honours were performed, and a eulogy pronounced by Judge Story. The friends of Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow were desirous that their remains should be interred at New-York, where the lady of Captain Lawrence and the families of both the heroes resided; the corpses were conveyed from Salem to New-York by land, and there interred with all the respect due to deceased merit. Captain Lawrence had been bred to the sea from the age of twelve, and distinguished himself before Tripoli, with Decatur. He was slain at the age of thirty-two, at the post of honour. In the year 1808 he married the daughter of ———, a respectable merchant of the city of New-York; he left her with two children, and in a situation in which the news of his death must have been peculiarly distressing. The catastrophe of the Chesapeake was kept from her knowledge until the birth of twin children, rendered the communication proper. The sympathies of the nation in some measure assuaged the widow's grief.\*

*Cruise of the Argus.* In May 1813, the brig Argus, Captain Allen, sailed from the United States for France, with Mr. Crawford, appointed ambassador to the French court, in the place of Mr. Barlow, deceased; he was so fortunate as to elude the British cruisers, and arrive at L'Orient in twenty-three days. From L'Orient Captain Allen sailed to the Irish Channel, for the purpose of annoying the British coast;

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\* Life of Captain Lawrence.



ing trade, and interrupting the communication between England and Ireland. It being entirely unexpected by the British, that an American ship should venture into this channel in search of prizes; they had deemed it unnecessary to station any force there for the protection of their trade; and Captain Allen, in the course of six weeks, took and destroyed British property to an amount, according to their own estimation, of two millions of dollars. His distance from any friendly port to which he might conduct his prizes, rendered it necessary to destroy them; non-combatant passengers were discharged with all their private property; prisoners of war paroled, and sent on shore, and the vessels sunk. So unexpected and unwelcome a visiter on their coast did not long escape the attention of the British admiralty.

*Capture.* The Sea-Horse, a thirty-eight gun frigate, and the Pelican ship of war of twenty guns, were ordered to the Irish Channel in quest of the Argus; and on the 14th of August, the Pelican fell in with her, and commenced the action: after a close contest of forty-three minutes, the Sea-Horse heaving in sight, the Argus surrendered. Early in the action Captain Allen had his left leg shot away by a cannon-ball, but refused to be carried below until he fainted from loss of blood. His leg was amputated above the knee, and every surgical aid afforded, but he survived only four days, and died on the 18th in Plymouth hospital.

*Enterprise and Boxer.* On the 5th of September, the United States brig Enterprise sailed from Portsmouth, and on the next day fell in with the British brig Boxer; the latter immediately fired a shot as a challenge, hoisted English colours, and bore down on the Enterprise. The American vessel employed herself in tacking, and making preparations for action; having obtained the weathergage, she manœuvred some time to try her sailing, and ascertain the force of her antagonist; at length she shortened sail, hoisted her ensigns, and fired three shot in answer to the challenge. The Boxer now bore up within half pistol-shot, gave three cheers,

and fired her starboard broadside; this was answered by like cheers, and a larboard broadside from the *Enterprise*, who now having the advantage of the wind, ranged ahead of her enemy, rounded to on the larboard tack, and commenced a raking broadside. The *Boxer's* main-top-sail, and top-sail-yards came down, and the *Enterprise* taking a raking position on the starboard-bow of her antagonist, and opening a raking fire, compelled her to cry out for quarter. The colours being nailed to the mast, could not be taken down, but the firing ceased, and the ship surrendered. The action lasted three quarters of an hour; in the early part of it, Captain Blythe, commander of the *Boxer*, and Lieutenant Burrows of the *Enterprise*, were both mortally wounded. The latter refused to be carried below until the sword of his enemy was presented to him; when grasping it with both hands, he exclaimed, "I am now satisfied, I die contented." The *Enterprise* was rated as a 12 gun brig of 165 tons, with a crew of 102 men; the *Boxer*, as a fourteen gun brig of 200 tons, with a crew of 104 men. In the action she had twenty-five killed and fourteen wounded; the *Enterprise* four killed and eleven wounded.

The American ship, with her prize, made the harbour of Portland. The bodies of the two commanders were brought on shore in ten oared barges, rowed at minute strokes by shipmasters, accompanied by all the barges and boats in the harbour, the two vessels firing minute-guns. At the wharf a procession was formed, consisting of the civil and military authorities, and the citizens of the town, the corpse of Lieutenant Burrows preceding, and after the performance of appropriate funeral service, the remains of the two young naval heroes were deposited by the side of each other in peace.

*Cruise of the Essex in the Pacific.* The *Essex*, under the command of Captain Porter, sailed from the Delaware on the 27th of October, 1812, with orders to join the squadron under Commodore Bainbridge, destined for the Pacific ocean; he

proceeded to ports Praya, Fernando, de Noronho, and Cape Frio, designated in his instructions as places of rendezvous, on the coast of South America, for the meeting of the squadron. On his passage he captured the British packet Nocton, took out of her 11,000*l.* sterling in specie, and sent her to the United States. Not finding the residue of the squadron at the places appointed, he continued his cruise off Rio de Janeiro until the 12th of January, captured a schooner laden with hides and tallow, and sent her into Porto Rico, and proceeded to the island of St. Catharine, on the Brazil coast for supplies. Having here obtained such information ■■ satisfied him that he should not be joined by the other ships, agreeably to his instructions adapted to such an event, he sailed alone for the Pacific ocean, and arrived at Valparaíso, ■ Spanish town and harbour on the coast of Chili, on the 14th of March. Having here obtained the necessary supplies, he ran down the coast of Chili and Peru, and fell in with a Peruvian corsair, who had taken two American whale ships on the coast, and confined their crews as prisoners. The captain of the corsair declared, that, as allies of Great Britain, he should capture all American vessels he should meet, under an expectation that there might be a war between Spain and the United States. Captain Porter disarmed the corsair, liberated the Americans, and addressed a note to the viceroy of Peru, explaining the reasons of his conduct. He then proceeded to Lima, and re-captured one of the whale ships as she was entering the port. From Lima he cruised among the Gallipago Islands, the seat of the British whale fishery, from the 17th of April until the 3d of October; during this cruise he captured twelve British letters of marque, whale ships, having on board three hundred men, and armed with one hundred and seven guns: One of them he equipped as ■ ship of war, under the name of the *Essex Junior*, and gave her in command to Lieutenant Downes, retained one as a store ship, gave up two to the prisoners whom he paroled, and sent six others into port under convoy of the *Essex Junior*. On the

return of Lieutenant Downes from Valparaiso, he learned that a squadron under Commodore Hillyer, consisting of the *Phebe* of thirty-six guns, two sloops of war of twenty guns, and a store-ship, had been in pursuit of him on the coast of Brazil, and had left that coast, and sailed for the Pacific on the 6th of July.

*Possession of Madison Island.* On receiving this intelligence, Captain Porter proceeded with the remainder of his prizes, to Nooahevah, or Madison Island, in the Washington groupe, lately discovered by Captain Ingraham of Boston. On the 19th of November he took formal possession of the island, in the name of the President of the United States, erected fort Madison, mounted four guns, deposited at the foot of the flag-staff a copy of his declaration, and several pieces of American coin; built a village consisting of six houses, a rope-walk, and bakery, and established a friendly intercourse and trade with the natives. This formal possession was taken under a salute of seventeen guns from fort Madison, and the shipping in the harbour, now denominated Massachusetts bay. At this station he proceeded to repair his ships, procure supplies, and make preparation to meet his expected enemy; having accomplished these objects he left three of his prizes in charge of Lieutenant Gamble, under the guns of the battery, and returned to the coast of Chili on the 14th of January, 1814.

The expedition had thus far been attended with the most brilliant success. Captain Porter had broken down the British navigation in the Pacific; the vessels which had escaped capture, were panic-struck, and confined to their ports. The most ample protection had been afforded to the numerous American shipping in those seas, which until his arrival, were altogether unprotected. The British whale fishery was entirely broken up, and those engaged in it sustained losses estimated at two and an half millions of dollars. The captures had furnished the *Essex* with abundance of naval stores, provisions, and clothing, and enabled Captain



Porter to quarter himself on his enemy, and make considerable advances to his men. Had he followed the dictates of prudence, on hearing of Commodore Hillyer's squadron being in pursuit of him, he would have avoided a force so manifestly superior, and returned to the United States with the fruits of his cruise. He had accomplished the object of his voyage; there was little more to be done in those seas; and there was a squadron in pursuit of him of such superior force, as rendered it his imperious duty to avoid it; but the maxims of prudence do not always regulate the conduct of the brave. The brilliant successes of 1812 had induced the American naval commanders to hazard combats when the odds was manifestly against them, while the British studiously avoided any rencontre, unless with evident superiority. The result was such as might be expected from such a course; American bravery continued to distinguish itself with increasing lustre in the most desperate courage, but the balance of captures of armed ships after the year 1812 was greatly against the American navy.

*Capture of the Essex.* Captain Porter returned to Valparaiso, and cruised off that port expressly with a view of meeting his enemy. His wishes were soon gratified. The squadron arrived at Valparaiso about the 1st of February, and anchored along side of the Essex; Hillyer politely inquired after the health of Captain Porter, observing that his ship was cleared for action, and his men prepared for boarding; Porter replied, "If by any accident you get on board me, I assure you great confusion will take place; I am prepared to receive you, but being in a neutral port, I shall only act on the defensive." Hillyer readily replied he had no such intention. At this instant his ship accidentally took aback of the starboard bow, and her yards nearly locked with the Essex; Porter immediately called his men to board the Phebe, who were ready at the word; when Commodore Hillyer exclaimed in great agitation, "I had no intention of getting on board you; I did not mean to get so near." His ship then

fell off with her jib-boom over the decks of the *Essex*, her bows exposed to a broadside, her stern to the fire of the *Essex Junior*, and her crew in the greatest confusion ; in this position the *Phebe* might have been taken or destroyed in fifteen minutes ; but respecting the neutrality of the port, Captain Porter made no attack. After he had brought his ship to anchor, Commodore Hillyer and Captain Tucker of the *Cherub*, visited Captain Porter on shore ; on being inquired of whether they meant to respect the neutrality of the port, Commodore Hillyer replied, " Sir, you have paid such respect to it that I feel myself bound in honour to do the same." The British squadron having obtained their supplies, cruised off the harbour of Valparaiso for six weeks closely blockading the *Essex* and *Essex Junior*. Captain Porter made several attempts to obtain a single combat with the *Phebe*, but without effect, the British ships keeping constantly within hail of each other. On the 28th of March, they were out of sight, and the American ships sailed out of the harbour, and endeavoured to escape ; but a heavy squall struck the *Essex*, and carried away her main-top-mast, precipitating the men aloft into the sea. Both British ships now appeared, and gave chase ; the *Essex* endeavoured to regain the harbour, but being unable to reach the common anchorage, ran into a small bay three quarters of a mile to the leeward of the battery on the east side of the harbour, and anchored within pistol-shot of the shore. The British approached with an evident design of making an attack, regardless of the neutrality of the place ; indeed the admiralty had passed an order, in violation of an acknowledged rule of the law of nations, enjoining the commanders of their ships in the South Seas, not to respect any port as neutral where the *Essex* should be found. Captain Porter prepared his ship for action as well as her crippled state would admit, determined at least that the victory should not be a bloodless one to his enemy. At four o'clock P. M. the action commenced at close quarters, the *Phebe* under the stern, and the *Cherub* on the starboard bow

of the *Essex*; but the *Cherub*, soon finding herself in too hot a fire, immediately changed her position, and placed herself under the stern also, where both ships kept up a severe and raking fire. The *Essex*, with three long twelves from her stern ports, managed with such skill and bravery as within half an hour to compel her enemy to haul off and repair. It was evidently the object of Commodore Hillyer, viewing success as ultimately sure, to risk nothing from the daring courage of his antagonist, but to obtain the *Essex* at as cheap a rate as possible. All his manœuvres were deliberate and wary; he saw his antagonist completely in his power, and prepared to make prize of him in the surest and safest manner. The situation of the *Essex* in the mean time, was galling in the extreme; crippled and shattered, and with many of her crew killed and wounded, she lay waiting the convenience of her enemy to renew the scene of slaughter at his pleasure, without the hope of escape or revenge; her brave crew, however, without being disheartened, were aroused to desperation, and by hoisting ensigns in the rigging and jacks in different parts of the ship, bid the enemy defiance, and evinced their determination to hold out to the last. The British having repaired their damages, now placed both ships on the starboard quarter of the *Essex*, out of the reach of her carronades and where her stern guns could not be brought to bear. Here they kept up a most destructive fire, which Captain Porter was not able to return; the latter therefore saw no hopes of injuring his antagonist, but by getting under way and becoming the assailant; from the mangled state of his rigging, he could hoist no sail but his flying-jib; this being done, he cut his cable and ran down on both ships, with an intention of boarding the *Phebe*. For a short time he was enabled to close with the enemy, and the firing on both sides was tremendous. The decks of the *Essex* were strewn with dead, and her cockpit filled with wounded. The *Cherub* at the same time, was obliged to haul off, and could only keep up a distant firing with her long guns. The

disabled state of the *Essex* prevented her from keeping at close quarters with the *Phebe*, who, by edging off, chose a distance which best suited her long guns. Many of the guns of the *Essex* were rendered useless, many had their whole crews destroyed, and were again manned from those guns which were dismounted; one gun was thus manned three times, and fifteen men were slain around it in the course of the action, though its captain escaped with only a slight wound.

Captain Porter, finding it impossible to close with the enemy, now determined to run his ship on shore, land the crew, and destroy her. He had approached within musket shot of the shore, and had every prospect of succeeding, when a land-breeze suddenly set in, and drove him down directly upon the *Phebe*, exposing him to a raking fire. His ship was now totally unmanageable; but as the enemy were to the leeward, and the head of the *Essex* towards him, Captain Porter still had a faint hope of boarding. At this moment Lieutenant Downes of the *Essex Junior*, came on board to receive the last orders of Captain Porter, expecting every moment when he would be a prisoner or a corpse. The services of the *Essex Junior* could now be of no avail, Captain Porter therefore directed him to return to his own ship, and be prepared for defending or destroying her. The slaughter on board the *Essex* now became horrible; the enemy continued to rake her while she could not bring a gun to bear upon him. Still her commander, with an obstinacy that bordered on desperation, kept up the hopeless conflict. As a last expedient, a hawser was bent to the sheet anchor, and the anchor cut from the bows to bring the ship's head round; this succeeded, and the broadside of the *Essex* was again brought to bear; as the enemy were much crippled, Captain Porter thought he might drift out of gun-shot before he discovered that the *Essex* was anchored. The hawser parted, the *Essex* drifted towards the enemy, and her last hope failed. She had taken fire several times during the action,



and was at this moment on fire both fore and aft; the flames were bursting up each hatchway; a large quantity of powder below had exploded, attended with the cry that the magazine was on fire. Captain Porter turned his attention to rescuing as many of his brave crew as possible; finding his distance from the shore did not exceed three quarters of a mile, he hoped many would be able to save themselves, should the ship blow up; his boats had been cut to pieces, but he directed as many of his men as could swim to make for the shore; some reached it, some were taken by the enemy, and many perished in the attempt; most of the crew however, preferred remaining on board the ship, and sharing the fate of their gallant commander. Renewed exertions were now made to extinguish the flames, which finally succeeded, and the firing recommenced, but the crew were so weakened that all further resistance was evidently fruitless. On summoning the officers of divisions for consultation, Captain Porter found only Lieutenant M'Knight remaining. Accounts from every part of the ship were deplorable, representing her in a most shattered and crippled condition, in imminent danger of sinking, and so crowded with the wounded and dying, that even the birth-deck could hold no more; and many were killed while under the operations of the surgeon. All the carpenter's gang were either killed or wounded; one of them, who had been over the side to stop the leaks, had his slings shot away, and with the utmost difficulty saved himself from drowning. In the mean time it had become calm, and from the smoothness of the water, and the secure distance at which the enemy lay, he was enabled to keep up a constant fire, aiming with coolness and certainty, as at a target, and hulling her with every shot. At twenty minutes past six, Captain Porter gave the painful order to strike the colours. This not being immediately perceived, the firing continued for about ten minutes, Captain Porter concluding that they meant to give no quarter, was about to rehoist his flag, and fight until his ship sunk, when the firing on the part of the British

ceased, and the ship was taken possession of by the enemy. During the action, Mr. Poinsett, the American consul at Valparaiso, called on the governor to protect the *Essex*, and maintain the neutrality of the port, with the guns of the fort; the governor replied, that he would send an officer to request Commodore Hillyer to cease firing, but should not use force under any circumstances. This sanguinary and obstinately fought battle, was in the presence of the whole population of Valparaiso, and the neighbouring country. Thousands of spectators covered the neighbouring heights; some of the shot fell among the crowd, who, in the eagerness to gratify their curiosity, ventured down on the beach. Touched with the forlorn situation of the *Essex*, and filled with admiration at the persevering bravery of her crew, a generous anxiety ran through the multitude for her fate; shouts of delight arose, when by any vicissitude of battle, or prompt expedient, a chance seemed to turn up in her favour; and the eager spectators were seen to wring their hands, and utter groans of sympathy, when the transient hope was defeated, and the gallant little frigate once more become an unresisting object of deliberate slaughter. The crew of the *Essex* at the commencement of the action, consisted of 255 men; 58 were killed, 65 wounded, and 31 missing; at the close of the action there were only seventy-five men on board capable of duty. The crew of the *Phebe* consisted of 320, and of the *Cherub* of 180 men.\* The capturing force in men and guns, was double the captured. Although a valuable ship and a brave crew were lost in the capture of the *Essex*, yet such consummate skill and bravery were displayed in the defence, as fully maintained the honour of the nation, and rendered the American navy formidable to their enemies.

*Return of Commodore Porter.* An arrangement was made between the two commanders, that the *Essex Junior* should be disarmed, neutralized, and equipped at the expense of the

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\* Captain Porter's letter to the secretary of the navy.

American government, and being furnished with a passport to protect her from British cruisers, proceed with the prisoners on parole, to the United States. In pursuance of this arrangement, Captain Porter, with the remains of his crew, commenced the voyage. On the 5th of July, off the coast of Long-Island, he was stopped by the British ship *Saturn*; his papers examined, and he allowed to proceed. Standing in the same course with the *Saturn*, he was again brought to about two hours afterwards, his papers re-examined, and his ship overhauled and detained. On Captain Porter's remonstrating against these proceedings, he was told that Commodore Hillyer had no authority to make such an arrangement, and that it would not be regarded. At seven o'clock the next morning, the ships being then about forty miles from land, off the east end of Long-Island, and Captain Porter seeing no prospect of his ship's being released, and considering himself discharged from his parole by this detention, in contravention of it, ordered his boat to be lowered down, manned and armed, into which he threw himself, and reached the shore in safety. The inhabitants strongly suspecting him to be an English officer, closely interrogated, and were about to arrest him; his story appeared so extraordinary, that they were disposed to discredit it, but on showing his commission, all doubts were removed, and they treated him with the most enthusiastic attention. On his arrival at New-York, the people took his horses from the carriage, and amid the huzzas of the citizens, conveyed him to his lodgings. The *Essex Junior* was soon after liberated, and arrived at New-York.

*Result of the Naval War in 1813.* During the season of 1813, numerous privateers issued from the various ports in the United States, and harassed and captured British commerce in every direction. The public and private armed vessels of the United States, within the year 1813, captured and sent into port, or destroyed at sea, four hundred and seventeen British ships, and estimating them at an average of forty

thousand dollars, the loss to the British trade and navigation amounted to sixteen and a half millions of dollars. Owing to the greater caution of the British in combating with the American navy, the latter had made no captures of British frigates to add to their trophies; yet the valour displayed in every rencontre, fully supported that high character which they had acquired the preceding year. The strict blockade of the sea-board this season, interrupted all communication by water; travelling and transportation between the cities on the coast was altogether by land. The hazards, inconveniencies, and expenses, of such an intercourse, led to an investigation and devolopment of the facilities and resources of the country for canal navigation, and laid the foundation for very important and lasting improvements.





## CHAPTER X.

Mobile occupied; annexed to the Mississippi Territory.—Spanish authorities removed to Pensacola.—Southern Indians.—Methods taken by the United States to civilize them.—Visited by Tecumseh.—Instigated to War.—Massacre at Fort Mimms.—Proceedings in Tennessee and Georgia relating to the Creek War.—Tennessee Forces under General Jackson.—Battle at Tallushatches.—Tallageda.—Destruction of the Hillabee Towns by General White.—Proceedings of the Georgia Forces under General Floyd.—Battle at the Autossee Towns.—Battle at Camp Defiance.—General Claiborne's Expedition against Eccanachaca.—Battle.—Term of service of General Jackson's Volunteers expires.—Most of them leave him.—His Army recruited.—His first Expedition to the Great Bend of the Tallapoosa.—Battle.—Returns to Fort Strother.—Battle at Enotachopeo Creek.—Second Expedition to the Great Bend.—Battle.—End of the Creek War.—Treaty.—Rapid settlement of the Country by the Whites.

*Extent of Louisiana.* THE treaty by which France sold to the United States a district of country under the name of Louisiana, contained no definite boundaries. The mouth of the Mississippi and the Island of Orleans, were first discovered and occupied by a Frenchman of the name of La Salle; in consequence of which, his sovereign Louis XIV. claimed all the country northward of it to his Canada possessions, westward to the Pacific ocean, and eastward indefinitely until it came in contact with countries already occupied by other European powers, and gave it the name of Louisiana. This instrument, the United States claimed, conveyed to them a country extending eastward of the Mississippi to the Perdido river, thirty miles easterly of Mobile bay, and westerly to the Pacific ocean, comprehending a much larger portion of country than the original United States. Spain, from whom this territory had been recently wrested by France without an equivalent, contended that it embraced only the city and

island of Orleans, and a limited territory on the west bank of the river. There being no common arbiter to decide this question, the party best able to assert its pretensions must prevail, and the other submit. For some time after the ratification of the Louisiana treaty, no formal possession of the contested territory was taken by the American government, and the national authorities seemed to oscillate between the right of Spain and that of the United States. Imperious circumstances, however, at length called upon the President to adopt decisive measures, and induced him to give orders to the governor of Louisiana for the occupation of the contested district; anxious however, to avoid any collision with foreign powers, he restricted him to such parts of the territory as were in a revolutionary state, and directed him not to molest the regular Spanish authorities. Under these orders, Governor Claiborne excluded the town Mobile and the adjacent country from the American jurisprudence, and the courts and revenue office of the United States were established at Fort Stoddard, within their acknowledged jurisdiction. On the eve of a war with Great Britain it became important that this place should not be in the possession of her friend and ally, as by means of its waters an easy communication was opened with the hostile Indians of the south-west.

*Occupation of Mobile.* With these views a law was passed in May 1812, annexing the country west of the Perdido, and south of the 31st degree of latitude, including the district of Mobile, to the Mississippi territory; establishing the territorial laws, and granting them a representation in the provincial legislature. The Spanish garrison was required to leave the district. After a long course of negotiation with the governor of Pensacola, he refused to remove the garrison; and General Wilkinson, the commanding officer at New-Orleans, was ordered to take possession. On the 27th of March, he ordered Commodore Shaw to send a detachment of gun-boats to take possession of the bay of Mobile, and

cut off all communication with Pensacola; and Lieutenant Colonel Boyer, then stationed with a respectable force at Fort Stoddard, on the Mobile river forty-four miles above its mouth, to be in readiness to march down on Mobile at a day's notice. Having made these previous arrangements, the General left New-Orleans on the 29th, and embarked on board the schooner Alligator. The troops destined for the expedition were ordered to rendezvous at the pass Christian. On the 30th, the weather being calm, and the Alligator unable to proceed, the general left the schooner, and took a barge, which upset in the lake in fifteen feet water, and the general and his suit lay on the keel for some time without any prospect of relief; two vessels passed, but did not observe them: at length the wreck was discovered by some Spanish fishermen, who came to the relief of the half-drowned and famished party. They towed them on shore, righted the boat, and the general again embarked with his boatmen, and reached Petit Coquille at midnight. The next day an express was sent to Colonel Boyer to fall down the river and occupy the bank opposite the town. The troops embarked from their general rendezvous on the 7th, arrived in the bay of Mobile on the 12th of April, and landed near the fort at two o'clock in the morning of the next day. The sound of their bugles, as they were preparing to march up in front of the fort, was the first notice which the Spanish commandant had of General Wilkinson's approach. At noon six hundred men appeared in column in front of the fort, and demanded its surrender. A short negotiation between the general and commandant took place, which ended in the evacuation of the fort on the 15th, and the removal of the Spanish authorities to Pensacola.

*Southern Indians.* The southern Indians, immediately northward of this district, inhabit the Mississippi territory, bounded on the north by the state of Tennessee, east by Georgia, south by the Floridas, and west by the Mississippi, being about three hundred miles square. The soil and cli-



mate are equal to any in the United States. The Indian population, comprehending the Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Cherokee nations, is estimated at 60,000, and their warriors at about 6,000, and are as numerous as all the other tribes in the United States, east of the Mississippi.\* This population is in a semi-civilized state, approaching much nearer in their manners, customs, and modes of living, to the whites, than any other Indian nation. The American government early turned their attention to these people, and established an agency among them, for the purpose of furnishing them with the implements of husbandry, domestic manufacture, and other necessities, and instructing them in the arts of civilized life. Under the judicious superintendence of Colonel Hawkins, they had long been kept in peace, and induced to turn their attention from hunting, to the cultivation of the soil. Many of them were regular farmers, and possessed stocks of cattle, horses, and swine. Their women were taught to spin and weave; intermarriages with the whites were frequent, from which had sprung a race of half-breeds, which had established an important and useful chain of connexion between the white and red inhabitants of the territory. The direct communication between Louisiana, and the Atlantic states was through this country, and the mails between the city of Washington, and New-Orleans, were regularly established on this route. Surrounded on three sides by the white population of the United States, and numerous white settlements in the heart of their country, their safety, and even existence, depended on the preservation of peace. Sensible of this, they were ready, when any of their people had committed depredations or murders on the border inhabitants, to give them up to be punished; and whenever they suffered by trespasses from the whites, instead of revenging themselves, they presented their complaints to the American authorities, who readily listened to, and redressed their injuries. At the

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\* Dr. Morse.

trading-houses established at various posts in their territory, under the direction of Colonel Hawkins, they were enabled to exchange at a fair price, their peltry, for articles suited to their wants. From this peaceful and happy state, they were most unfortunately seduced to take a part in the war. The British authorities early perceived that a war with the southern Indians, would cause a powerful diversion of the forces destined to the northern frontier, interrupt the chain of communication between Louisiana and the eastern states, and cause such a desolation on the southern frontier, as in their view, would greatly promote the objects of the war. By means of runners, a constant intercourse was kept up between the Indians of the south and the north-west. This species of intercourse is common to all the Indian nations, and among many of them is as regular as the mails of the United States. The runner goes with incredible swiftness, carries, and delivers his messages laconically but correctly, receives the answers, and returns with the same speed. They are every where well received and entertained; the news they carry always compensating their entertainers. In time of war, the privileges of a flag are considered as attached to the runners. So regular and uninterrupted was this species of communication, that the Indians of the south were much earlier, and more correctly informed of the events of the campaign of 1812, on the north-western frontier, than their neighbouring white inhabitants.

*Indian War in the South.* Tecumseh, the celebrated Shawanee chief, and British ally, appeared among the Indians of the south, attended their councils, and by every art of persuasion endeavoured to induce them to join in a league with their red brethren of the north, and with the aid of the British, to extirpate the whites. With peculiar adroitness, he availed himself of the assistance of their prophets, and of the prevalent fanaticism, to induce them to believe that the Great Spirit had ordered the destruction of the whites, and the re-possession of their country by the red men. The capture of

Detroit, and the successes of the British and Indians in the north-west, in the year 1812, gave full credit to such representations. Thus wrought upon, and liberally supplied with the implements of war by the British, through the channel of the Floridas, a large majority of the Creek nation, by far the most numerous of the southern Indians, and a considerable portion of the other tribes, were induced to commence hostilities against the United States. Several murders and robberies were committed, and the perpetrators refused to be given up; evident appearances of hostility were now every where visible. Alarm and consternation prevailed among the white inhabitants; those of the Tensaw district, a considerable settlement on the Alabama, fled for safety to fort Mimms on that river, sixteen miles above fort Stoddard. The place was garrisoned by one hundred and fifty volunteers of the Mississippi territory, under Major Beasley. The inhabitants collected at the fort, amounted to about three hundred.

*Massacre at Fort Mimms.* At eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the 30th of August, a body of Indians to the amount of six or seven hundred warriors, issued from the adjoining wood, and approached the fort; they advanced within a few rods of it before the alarm was given. As the centinel cried out, "Indians," they immediately gave a war-whoop, and rushed in at the gate before the garrison had time to shut it. This decided their fate. Major Beasley was mortally wounded at the commencement of the assault; he ordered his men to secure the ammunition, and retreat into the house; he was himself carried into the kitchen, and afterwards consumed in the flames. The fort was originally square, but Major Beasley had enlarged it by extending the lines upon two sides about fifty feet, and putting up a new side, into which the gate was removed; the old line of pickets were standing, and the Indians on rushing in at the gate, obtained possession of the outer part, and through the port holes of the old line of pickets, fired on the people who held the interior. On the opposite side of the fort was an offset or bastion made round the

back gate, which being open on the outside, was occupied by the Indians, who, with the axes that lay scattered about, cut down the gate. The people in the fort kept possession of the port-holes on the other lines, and fired on the Indians who remained on the outside. Some of the Indians ascended the block-house at one of the corners, and fired on the garrison below, but were soon dislodged; they succeeded, however, in setting fire to a house near the pickets, which communicated to the kitchen, and from thence to the main dwelling-house. When the people in the fort saw the Indians in full possession of the outer court, the gate open, the men fast falling, and their houses on flames, they gave up all for lost, and a scene of the most distressing horror ensued. The women and children sought refuge in the upper story of the dwelling-house, and were consumed in the flames, the Indians dancing and yelling round them with the most savage delight. Those who were without the buildings were murdered and scalped without distinction of age or sex; seventeen only escaped. The battle and massacre lasted from eleven in the forenoon until six in the afternoon, by which time the work of destruction was fully completed, the fort and buildings entirely demolished, and upwards of four hundred men, women, and children, massacred.\*.

This event spread consternation and dismay through all the neighbouring settlements; the inhabitants fled with the utmost precipitation, without taking any means of subsistence to fort Stoddard, Mobile, and other places, where they deemed themselves safe from the fury of the savages. Their dwellings and property were left a prey to the Indians, who plundered and laid waste the adjacent country to a great extent, without opposition.

*Exertions of the States of Georgia and Tennessee.* These unexpected and calamitous events excited the most lively sensations in the neighbouring states of Tennessee and Geor-

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\* Judge Toulmin's letter.



gia, and led to prompt and spirited exertions. Eighteen hundred volunteers under the command of General Floyd, were immediately organized, equipped, and marched into the southern section of the Creek nation from the state of Georgia. The legislature of Tennessee were in session when the news arrived. They immediately passed an act authorizing the governor to raise thirty-five hundred men, for the purpose of protecting the inhabitants of the Mississippi territory, giving security, to their own borders, and repelling the incursions of the Indians. Three hundred thousand dollars were ordered to be raised, and appropriated to defray the expenses.

The Tennessee forces were commanded by generals Jackson and Cocke. The governors of the two states immediately communicated their proceedings to the war department. Their measures were approved by the executive, and the troops placed upon the United States establishment.

*Destruction of the Tallushatches.* The infatuated Creeks were now doomed to atone in the most exemplary manner for the massacre at fort Mimms, and their subsequent ravages. The first object to which the troops under General Jackson were directed, was their encampments at the Tallushatches towns, on the Coosa river, a northern branch of the Alabama. On the 2d of November, General Coffee was detached with a part of his brigade of cavalry, and a corps of mounted riflemen, amounting to nine hundred, against this assemblage. He arrived on the morning of the third, and encircled the encampment with his cavalry; when he had approached within half a mile, the Creeks sounded the war-whoop, and prepared for action. Captain Hammond's and Lieutenant Patterson's companies advanced within the circle and gave a few shots for the purpose of drawing out the enemy. The Creeks formed and made a violent charge. Captain Hammond, according to his orders, gave way, and was pursued by the Indians, until they met the right column, which gave them a general fire, and then charged. The Indians immediately retreated within and behind their build-

ings, and fought with desperation; but their destruction was soon accomplished. The soldiers rushed up to the doors of their houses, broke them open, and in a few minutes killed the last warrior of them : not one escaped to carry the news. None asked for quarters, but fought as long as they could stand or sit, and met death in various shapes without a groan. Two hundred warriors were killed, eighty-four women and children taken prisoners and discharged; of General Coffee's troops five only were killed, and forty-one wounded.

General Jackson established his head-quarters at the Ten Islands on the Coosa, and fortified his position, giving it the name of Camp Strother. On the evening of the 7th of November, a runner arrived from the friendly Indians at the Tallageda fort, thirty miles below on the same river, giving information that the hostile Creeks had encamped in great force near that place, and were preparing to destroy it, earnestly soliciting immediate assistance. General Jackson determined on commencing his march the same night, and despatched a runner to General White, informing him of his movement, and urging him to hasten his march to camp Strother, to protect it in his advance. He had previously ordered General White to form a junction with him as speedily as possible, and received his assurances that he would be with him on the 7th. General Jackson immediately commenced crossing the river at the Ten Islands, leaving his baggage wagons and whatever might retard his progress in the camp, and halted at midnight within six miles of the Tallageda. Here a runner arrived with a note from General White informing him that he had altered his course, and was on his march back to join General Cocke at the mouth of the Chataga.

*Battle of Tallageda.* It was then too late for the general to change his plan of operations, or make any new arrangements. He renewed his march at three o'clock, and at sun-rise, came within half a mile of his enemy, whom he found encamped a quarter of a mile in advance of the fort. He immediately form-

ed the line of battle ; the militia on the left, the volunteers on the right, and the cavalry on the wings ; and advanced in a curve, keeping his rear connected with the advance of the infantry line, so as to enclose the enemy in a circle. The advance guard met the attack of the Indians with intrepidity, and having poured upon them four or five rounds, fell back to the main body. The enemy pursued, and were met by the front line. This line was broken, and several companies of militia retreated. At this moment a corps of cavalry under Lieutenant Colonel Dyer, which was kept as a reserve, were ordered to dismount and fill the vacancy. The order was promptly executed, the militia soon rallied, and returned to the charge. The fire now became general along the first line and the contiguous wings. The Indians fled, and were met and pursued in every direction. The right wing followed them with a destructive fire to the mountains, three miles distant. Two hundred and ninety of their warriors were found dead, and a large number killed in the pursuit, who were not found. General Jackson lost fifteen men killed, and eighteen wounded. In consequence of the failure of General White to proceed to camp Strother, General Jackson was obliged to give up further pursuit, and immediately return to his camp to protect his sick, wounded, and baggage.

The Tennessee militia and volunteers called into service at the commencement of the Creek war, consisted of two divisions, one of West Tennessee, commanded by General Jackson, and the other of East Tennessee, commanded by Major General Cocke. Major General Thomas Pinckney, of the United States army, was commander in chief of the military district within which these troops were raised and employed, and in that capacity, had the general direction of their operations, after they were taken into the United States service. General Jackson, as senior major general of the Tennessee forces, claimed the right of commanding the whole that were in service. General Cocke, of the East Tennessee division, considered himself as possessing a command inde-

pendent of General Jackson. This circumstance produced a collision in the orders, and the embarrassment to which General White, who commanded a brigade in General Cocke's division, was subject; while General Jackson ordered him to march to camp Strother, to protect it in his absence, General Cocke ordered him to march in a contrary direction and attack the Hillabee towns, distant from fort Armstrong one hundred miles.

*Destruction of the Hillabee Towns.* General White considered himself bound to obey the latter order, and the 11th of November marched with the mounted infantry, cavalry, and a corps of friendly Cherokee Indians, to Oakfusky, where he took five hostile Creeks who had been sent out as spies, and burned a small village. On the 17th, he arrived within six miles of the Hillabees, the object of his expedition; and early in the morning of the 18th, surrounded and completely surprised the town, killed sixty warriors, took two hundred and fifty-six prisoners, and returned to fort Armstrong, without the loss of a man, either killed or wounded.

*General Floyd's Operations.* While the Tennessee forces were performing these operations in the northern sections of the Creek country, the Georgia troops under General Floyd entered their territory from the east. The general, having received information that a number of hostile Indians had assembled at the Autosee towns, on the southern bank of the Talapoosa, eighteen miles from the Hickory ground, and twenty above the junction of that river with the Coosa, proceeded to that place with a corps of nine hundred and fifty militia, and four hundred friendly Indians; and on the morning of the 29th of November, at half past six, appeared in line of battle, in front of the principal town. The Indians presented themselves at every point, and fought with desperate fury. The well directed fire of the artillery, and the charge of the bayonet, soon drove them from the ground, and obliged them to take shelter in the copses, thickets, and out-houses in rear of the town. Many concealed themselves in



caves previously provided as places of retreat, along the high bluffs on the river, which were thickly covered with reeds and brush-wood. The friendly Indians were divided into four companies, under leaders of their own choice, and directed to cross Canhabee creek, and occupy that flank to prevent escapes from the Tallisee town, situated about one hundred rods below the Autosee. Instead of obeying this order, soon after the action commenced, most of them thronged in disorder into the rear of the lines; but the Covetans under M'Intosh, and the Tookabotchians, under Mad Dog's Son, joined the flanks of the militia, and fought with a bravery equal to disciplined troops. At nine o'clock the Indians were completely driven from the plain, and the houses of both towns were in flames. Warriors from eight towns had assembled at Autosee, which their prophets had taught them to believe was holy ground, on which no white man could tread without inevitable destruction. Four hundred buildings were burned, some of which were of a superior cast for the dwellings of savages. The loss of the Indians was estimated at two hundred killed; among whom were the Autosee and Tallisee kings. The number of wounded could not be ascertained, as they were taken off by their friends, but must have been very considerable. General Floyd was severely wounded, and Adjutant General Newman slightly. The whole loss of the Georgians was eleven killed, and fifty-four wounded. The friendly Indians lost several killed and wounded, but their loss was not great, as most of them sought places of safety at the commencement of the action. From the Autosee towns, General Floyd, after resting several days, proceeded to camp Defiance, fifty miles further to the west, into the enemy's country. At this place, at 5 o'clock in the morning of the 2d of January, his camp was assailed by a desperate band of hostile Indians, who stole unobserved upon the centinels, fired on them, and immediately rushed on the lines. In twenty minutes the troops were formed in order of battle, and the action became general. The front and both

flanks were closely pressed at once; but the skilful conduct of the officers, and firmness of the men, repulsed the enemy at every point. The incessant fire of Captain Thomas's artillery, and Adams's riflemen, preserved the front line. Both these companies suffered greatly. Captain Broadnax, who commanded one of the piquet-guards, maintained his post with great bravery until the enemy gained his rear, and then cut his way through them to the lines. Timpochee Barnard, a half-breed, at the head of the Uchies, distinguished himself, and contributed to the relief of the piquet-guard. Most of the other friendly Indians took refuge within the lines, and remained inactive spectators of the contest. As soon as it had become light enough to distinguish objects, Majors Watson's and Freeman's battalions wheeled up at right angles with Majors Booth's and Cleaveland's, and made a vigorous charge. The enemy fled in every direction before the bayonet. The signal was then given for the cavalry to charge, which was executed with great effect. The Indians left thirty-seven dead on the field, and from the war-clubs, head-dresses, and trails of blood found in various directions, their whole loss must have been much greater. The friendly Indians, with Merriwether's and Ford's rifle companies, and Hamilton's cavalry, pursued them through Caulabee swamp, where they were trailed by their blood. In the first onset Adjutant General Newman received three balls, which prevented his further service in the action. General Floyd's loss was seventeen killed, and one hundred and thirty wounded; of the friendly Indians five were killed, and fifteen wounded.\*

*General Claiborne's Operations.* On the 13th of December, General Claiborne marched a detachment of volunteers, from fort Claiborne, on the east bank of the Alabama, eighty-five miles above fort Stoddard, with a view of destroying some towns of the Creeks above the mouth of the Cahawba. He

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\* General Floyd's letter.

proceeded up the river one hundred and ten miles, when he arrived at a newly-erected town, called Eccanachaca, or holy ground, occupied by a large body of Indians under the command of the noted chief Witherford, who commanded at the massacre at fort Mimms. On the 23d, at noon, the right wing, commanded by Colonel Carson, commenced the attack on the enemy, who had been apprised of General Claiborne's approach, and judiciously chosen his ground. Before the centre arrived so as to join in the action, the Indians fled in all directions, leaving thirty dead in the field. A pursuit was immediately ordered, but owing to the nature of the country, nothing was effected. The town was nearly surrounded by swamps and deep ravines, which rendered the approach difficult, and facilitated the escape of the enemy. A large quantity of provisions, and property of various kinds was found, which, together with the town, consisting of two hundred houses, was destroyed. The next day was employed in destroying another town, eight miles further up the river, and in taking and destroying the enemy's boats. Eccanachaca was built after the commencement of hostilities, as a place of safety for the inhabitants of several villages; and was the residence of their principal prophets, Witherford, Francis, and Singuister. Three of the Shawanee, or Tecumseh's tribe, from the north, were found among the slain. General Claiborne had one killed, and six wounded. At this town was found a letter from the governor of Pensacola, directed to Witherford, and the other chiefs, congratulating them on their success at fort Mimms, encouraging them to continue the war, and promising them presents, arms, and munitions from Havana.

*Tennessee Volunteers.* The Tennessee volunteers, under General Jackson, had been raised, equipped, and received into service by virtue of an act of Congress of the 6th of February, 1812, which provides, "That the President may accept the services of such volunteers, as offering themselves to an amount not exceeding fifty thousand, who shall be

liable to be called upon to do military duty at any time within two years from the time their services are accepted, and shall be bound to continue in service for the term of twelve months after they shall have arrived at the place of rendezvous, unless sooner discharged." These volunteers were first ordered to rendezvous at Nashville, in the state of Tennessee, on the 10th of December, 1812. From thence they were ordered down the Mississippi, and to encamp at the Natchez, and wait the further order of Government. On the 5th of January following, two days before the departure of the troops from Nashville, an order issued from the war department, directing their immediate discharge, and all the public property in the possession of General Jackson to be delivered to General Wilkinson. This order was not communicated to General Jackson until some time after his arrival at the Natchez. The troops under his command had just accomplished a tedious winter voyage down the Mississippi, of five hundred miles, and were settling themselves in winter-quarters, when the orders were received by which they were to be there disbanded, and left to make their way home through a wilderness of five hundred miles, without pay, or the means of subsistence. General Jackson refused a compliance with this order, and retained the troops in service until they could be marched back to Nashville, with sufficient provisions, and means for that purpose. The troops arrived at Nashville on the 1st of May following, and were there discharged; having performed a tedious winter voyage of five hundred miles, and a still more tedious countermarch of the same length for no possible beneficial purpose. The object of this expedition, and the reasons why the orders for discharging the troops were not sooner communicated to General Jackson, and what provision was to be made for their return from the Natchez, if the order had been complied with, have never been explained by the secretary of war. General Jackson's conduct was approved, and the pay and subsistence of the troops continued until their discharge at Nash-



ville. The same troops were again called into service early in October 1813, under General Jackson, to oppose the Creeks. After their return from the battle of Tallageda, they claimed that their term of service would expire on the 10th of December, 1813, being twelve months from the time of their first rendezvous at Nashville. General Jackson exhausted all the arts of persuasion to induce them to continue in service a longer period; he by no means admitted their claim to be discharged, contending that they were bound to continue in actual service one year out of the two, if required; but waiving that question, the disbanding the troops at this period would expose the Mississippi territory, and the frontier inhabitants of Tennessee and Georgia to certain destruction. The Creeks, though severely chastised, were by no means subdued. They were then collecting in large numbers, at various points in the territory, and when they found this army disbanded, would renew their ravages with increased fury. These considerations had but little effect; most of his army left him on or soon after the 10th of December, their places however were partially supplied by newly raised volunteers.

On the 17th of January, 1814, General Jackson finding himself in a situation to commence further offensive operations, marched from his encampment at fort Strother with nine hundred volunteers, who were soon afterwards joined by three hundred friendly Indians, against an assemblage of Creeks at the Great Bend of the Tallapoosa. On the evening of the 21st, he fell upon a large trail, which indicated the neighbourhood of a strong force. At eleven o'clock at night, his spies came in and informed him that there was a large encampment of Indians at about three miles distance, who from their war-whoops and dances appeared to be apprised of his approach, and would either commence a night attack upon him, or make their escape. Having received this intelligence, General Jackson put himself in readiness to meet an attack, or pursue them as soon as daylight appeared.

*Battle at the Tallapoosa.* At six o'clock in the morning a vigorous attack was made upon his left flank, which sustained it with bravery; the action continued to rage at that point, and on the left of the rear, for half an hour. As soon as it became light enough to pursue, the left wing was reinforced by Captain Ferril's company of infantry, and led on to the charge by General Coffee. The enemy were completely routed at every point; and the friendly Indians joined in the pursuit, they were chased about two miles with great slaughter. The chase being over, General Coffee was detached to burn their encampment, but finding it fortified, he returned to the main body for artillery. Half an hour after his return, a large force appeared and commenced an attack upon the right flank. General Coffee was permitted, at his own request, to take two hundred men and turn the enemy's left, but by some mistake only fifty-four followed him; with these he commenced an attack on their left; two hundred of the friendly Indians were ordered to fall upon the enemy's right, and co-operate with the general. The Creeks intended this attack upon Jackson's right as a feint, and expecting to find his left weakened, directed their main force against that quarter; but General Jackson, perceiving the object of the enemy, had directed that flank to remain firm in its position, and at the first moment of attack they were supported by the reserve under Captain Ferril. The whole line met the approach of the enemy with vigour, and after a few fires, made a bold and decisive charge. The Creeks fled with precipitation, and were pursued a considerable distance with a destructive fire. In the meantime General Coffee was contending on the right with a superior force; the friendly Indians who had been ordered to his support, seeing the enemy routed on the left, quit their post and joined in the chase. That being over, Jim Fife, with the friendly Indians, was again ordered to support General Coffee; as soon as he reached him, they made a decisive charge, routed the enemy, and pursued him three miles. Forty-five of the enemy's slain,

were found. General Coffee was wounded in the body, and his aid Colonel Donaldson, and three others slain. The next day General Jackson commenced his return march to fort Strother. His men and horses were exhausted, and he was not furnished with either provisions or forage for a longer stay. The enemy, supposing they had defeated the general, hung on his rear; and in the morning of the 24th, as he was on the point of crossing Enotachopeo creek, the front guard having crossed with part of the flank columns and the wounded, and the artillery just entering the water, an attack commenced on the rear. The main part of the rear guard precipitately gave way, leaving only twenty-five men under Colonel Carrol, who maintained their ground as long as possible. There then remained on the left of the creek to meet the enemy, the remnant of the rear guard, the artillery company, and Captain Russell's company of spies. Lieutenant Armstrong, of the artillery, immediately ordered them to form and advance to the top of the hill, while he and a few of his men dragged up a six pounder, amid a most galling fire from more than ten times their numbers. Arrived at the top they formed, and poured in upon their assailants a fire of grape, and at length made a charge and repelled them. Lieutenant Armstrong, Captains Hamilton, Bradford, and M'Govock, fell in this rencontre. By this time a considerable number had re-crossed the creek and joined the chase; Captain Gordon of the spies, rushed from the front and partially succeeded in turning the enemy's left flank. The Creeks now fled in the greatest consternation, throwing off their packs, and every thing that retarded their flight, and were pursued for more than two miles. Twenty-six of their warriors were left dead on the field. General Jackson's loss, in the several engagements of the 22d and 24th, was twenty-four killed, and seventy wounded. Judge Cocke, one of General Jackson's volunteers, entered the service at the age of sixty-five, was foremost in this engagement, continued the pursuit with youthful ardour, and saved the life of one of his fellow-sol-



diers by slaying his antagonist. In all the rencontres, one hundred and eighty-nine of the Creek warriors were found slain. A very seasonable diversion had been made in favour of the operations of General Floyd on the eastern boundary of the enemy. After the battle of the 24th, General Jackson was enabled to return to fort Strother without further molestation.

The Creeks encouraged by what they considered a victory over General Jackson's forces in the battles of the 22d and 24th of January, continued to concentrate their forces, and fortify themselves at the Great Bend of the Tallapoosa. This river forms the north-eastern branch of the Alabama. Several miles above its junction with the Coosa, is a curve in the river in the form of a horse-shoe, called by the whites the Great Bend, and by the Indians Emucsau. The peninsula formed by the bend, contains about one hundred acres, and the isthmus leading to it, is about forty rods across; at the bottom of the peninsula is the village of Tohopisca, containing about two hundred houses. On this peninsula, the Indians from the adjoining districts had concentrated their forces, to the amount of one thousand warriors, with ample stores of provisions and ammunition, and had fortified themselves with great skill; having thrown up a breastwork, consisting of eight tier of logs, with double port-holes across the isthmus, so that an assailing enemy might be opposed by a double and cross fire by the garrison, who could lie in perfect safety behind their works.

*Battle at the Great Bend.* On the 16th of March, General Jackson, having received considerable reinforcements of volunteers from Tennessee, and friendly Indians, left fort Strother with his whole disposable force, amounting to about three thousand of every description, on an expedition against this assemblage of Indians. He proceeded down the Coosa sixty miles to the mouth of Cedar creek, where he established a post called fort Williams, and proceeded on the 24th across the ridge of land dividing the waters of the Coosa from the



Tallapoosa; and arrived at the Great bend on the morning of the 27th, having the three preceding days opened a passage through the wilderness of fifty-two miles. On the 26th he passed the battle-ground of the 22d of January, and left it three miles in his rear. General Coffee was detached with seven hundred cavalry, and mounted gunmen, and six hundred friendly Indians, to cross the river below the bend, secure the opposite banks, and prevent escape. Having crossed at the Little Island ford, three miles below the bend, his Indians were ordered silently to approach and line the bank of the river; while the mounted men occupied the adjoining heights, to guard against reinforcements, which might be expected from the Oakfusky towns, eight miles below. Lieutenant Bean at the same time was ordered to occupy Little Island, at the fording-place, to secure any that might attempt to escape in that direction. In the mean time, General Jackson, with the artillery and infantry, moved on in slow and regular order to the isthmus, and planted his guns on an eminence one hundred and fifty yards in front of the breastwork. On perceiving that General Coffee had completed his arrangements below, he opened a fire upon the fortification, but found he could make no other impression with his artillery than boring shot-holes through the logs. General Coffee's Indians on the bank, hearing the roaring of the cannon in front, and observing considerable confusion on the peninsula, supposing the battle to be nearly won, crossed over and set fire to the village, and attacked the Creeks in the rear. At this moment General Jackson ordered an assault upon the works in front. The regular troops, led by Colonel Williams, accompanied by a part of the militia of General Dougherty's brigade, led on by Colonel Russell, presently got possession of a part of the works amid a tremendous fire from behind them. The advance guard was led by Colonel Sisler, and the left extremity of the line by Captain Gordon of the spies, and Captain M'Marry of General Johnson's brigade of West Tennessee militia. The battle for a

short time was obstinate, and fought musket to musket through the port-holes; when the assailants succeeded in getting possession of the opposite side of the works, and the contest ended. The Creeks were entirely routed, and the whole margin of the river strewn with the slain. The troops under General Jackson, and General Coffee's Indians, who had crossed over into the peninsula, continued the work of destruction as long as there was a Creek to be found. General Coffee, on seeing his Indians crossing over, had ordered their places to be supplied on the bank by his riflemen; and every Indian that attempted to escape by swimming the river, or crossing the Little Island below, was met and slain by General Coffee's troops. The battle, as long as any appearance of resistance remained, lasted five hours; the slaughter continued until dark, and was renewed the next morning, when sixteen more of the unfortunate savages were hunted out of their hiding-places and slain. Five hundred and fifty-seven warriors were found dead on the peninsula; among whom was their famous prophet Manahell, and two others, the principal instigators of the war; two hundred and fifty more were estimated to have been killed in crossing the river, and at other places, which were not found. General Jackson's loss was twenty-six white men, and twenty-three Indians, killed; and one hundred and seven white men, and forty-seven Indians, wounded.

*Submission of the Creeks.* This decisive victory put an end to the Creek war. In the short period of five months from the first of November to the first of April, two thousand of their warriors, among whom were their principal prophets and kings, had been slain, most of their towns and villages burned, and the strong places in their territory occupied by the United States troops. After this battle, the miserable remnant of the hostile tribes submitted. Witherford, the principal surviving chief and prophet, who led the Indians at fort Mimms, accompanied his surrender with this address to General Jackson.

“I fought at fort Mimms—I fought the Georgia army—I did you all the injury I could.—Had I been supported as I was promised, I would have done you more. But my warriors are all killed. I can fight no longer. I look back with sorrow that I have brought destruction upon my nation. I am now in your power. Do with me as you please. I am a soldier.”

A war with savages is necessarily attended with many circumstances distressing to the feelings of humanity. The Indian, having no means of supporting or confining his prisoner, knows no other mode of ridding himself of the burden, but by plunging the tomahawk into his head; and the Americans can no otherwise effectually prevent the savages from repeating their massacres, than by laying waste their villages, destroying their provisions, and compelling the surviving warriors to flee with their women and children into the wilderness beyond the reach of the whites.

The brilliant success with which this war was conducted and terminated, cast a mantle over its tragic scenes. The slaughter of unresisting warriors, and the burning of defenceless villages, marked much of its progress. To the enemy indeed no apology is necessary; the massacre at fort Mimms, and the subsequent ravages of the surrounding country, would justify a war of extermination; and the unhappy victims can alone condemn the British and Spanish authorities by whose intrigues they were induced to engage in this fatal contest. The plea of necessity goes far towards justifying the mode in which this war was conducted in the view of all. The savage warrior, who is suffered to escape, lives only to renew his ravages. The bold and decisive measures of General Jackson, in the conduct of this war, have probably prevented its ever being renewed by the same tribes, and struck a general dread among the surrounding nations. Though these considerations may justify the general mode in which the war was conducted, yet it is impossible to find a sufficient apology

for hunting out and butchering sixteen warriors, on the day after the last battle.

Soon after this victory, the Georgia forces, under General Floyd, formed a junction with those of Tennessee, and on the 20th of April, General Pinckney arrived at Fort Jackson, where the Tallapoosa and Coosa rivers uniting, form the Alabama, and assumed the command of all the forces in the Mississippi territory. New detachments of militia were ordered in to garrison the fortresses established in the Creek nation, and General Jackson and the Tennessee volunteers returned to Fayetteville and were discharged.

General Jackson and Colonel Hawkins were soon afterwards appointed commissioners to settle a peace with the Creeks; and on the 10th of August concluded a treaty, dictated altogether by the United States commissioners. The Creeks yielded up a valuable portion of their territory to defray the expenses of the war; they conceded the privileges of opening roads through their country, and navigating their rivers, and stipulated to hold no further intercourse with the British or Spanish posts, and to deliver up all the property or persons of the whites, or friendly Indians in their possession. On the part of the United States, the companies agreed to guarantee their remaining territory, to restore all their prisoners, and in consideration of their destitute situation, to furnish them gratuitously with the necessaries of life until they could provide for themselves.

The Creek war led to a rapid settlement of their country by the whites. The introduction of a large military force from Georgia and Tennessee, opened the country to the view of those armies, and made them acquainted with the fine lands on their rivers. By the treaty of the 10th of August, 1814, a large portion of their country was obtained, and by a subsequent treaty, another large tract of the Mississippi territory was exchanged by them for lands west of the Mississippi, on the Arkansaw. At the commencement of the Creek war in 1813, the number of white inhabitants in the whole territory



did not exceed twenty thousand. Within seven years from that period, they increased tenfold; and the same territory then formed two respectable states, and contained a white population of two hundred thousand.\*

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\* Census of 1820.

## CHAPTER XI.

Siege of Fort Meigs.—Arrival of General Clay to its Relief.—Defeat and Capture of Colonel Dudley's Detachment.—Siege raised.—General Harrison's Measures for the Defence of the Lake Erie Frontier.—Gallant Defence of Fort Stephenson.—Address of the Ladies of Chilicothe to Major Crogan.—The Reply.—Preparations for building a Navy on Lake Erie.—Naval Depôt at the Town of Erie.—Commodore Perry appointed to the Command; superintends the building a Fleet; anchors at Put-in-Bay.—Naval Battle.—Complete Victory of the Americans. Proctor determines to abandon Malden.—Remonstrance of the Indians.—Speech of Tecumseh.—Harrison prepares to invade Canada; re-occupies Detroit; pursues Proctor up the Thames.—Battle of the Moravian Towns.—Defeat and Capture of Proctor's Army.—Capture of his Baggage and Papers.—Death of Tecumseh.—Dissolution of the Indian Confederacy.—Effects of the Victory.

*Siege of Fort Meigs.* AFTER the defeat and capture of General Winchester and his army at the river Raisin, General Harrison established his advanced post at the foot of the Miami rapids, enclosing about eight acres with strong pickets, and establishing batteries at the most commanding points. This position was selected as being convenient for keeping open a communication, and receiving reinforcements and supplies from Kentucky, and the settled parts of the state of Ohio; and at the same time affording the best station for protecting the borders of lake Erie, re-capturing Detroit, and carrying the war into the British territories: it was denominated fort Meigs, in honour of the zeal and talents of the governor of Ohio. The Miami of the lake is formed by the St. Marys, which comes from the south, and the St. Josephs, which rises in the Indiana territory. These rivers unite at fort Wayne, near the west line of the state of Ohio: from this point the river assumes the name of Miami, and runs a north-easterly

direction, about fifty miles to fort Winchester, formerly fort Defiance, where it receives the waters of the Auglaize from the south. Thence it continues the same course forty miles further to the rapids, and after passing a short distance below fort Meigs on the left, and the ruins of a small village on the right, and embracing a large island, falls into the Miami bay, opposite the site of an old British fort, eighteen miles from lake Erie. The rapids terminate at fort Meigs, three miles above the head of the bay. On the breaking up of the ice in lake Erie, General Proctor with all his disposable force, consisting of regulars and Canadian militia from Malden, and a large body of Indians under their celebrated chief Tecumseh, amounting in the whole to two thousand men, laid siege to fort Meigs. To encourage the Indians, he had promised them an easy conquest; and assured them that General Harrison should be delivered up to Tecumseh. On the 26th of April, the British columns appeared on the opposite bank of the river, and established their principal batteries on a commanding eminence opposite the fort. On the 27th, the Indians crossed the river, and established themselves in the rear of the American lines. The garrison, not having completed their wells, had no water except what they obtained from the river, under a constant firing of the enemy. On the first, second, and third of May, their batteries kept up an incessant shower of balls and shells upon the fort. On the night of the third, the British erected a gun and mortar battery on the left bank of the river, within two hundred and fifty yards of the American lines. The Indians climbed the trees in the neighbourhood of the fort, and poured in a gallant fire upon the garrison. In this situation General Harrison received a summons from Proctor for a surrender of the garrison, greatly magnifying his means of annoyance; this was answered by a prompt refusal, assuring the British general that if he obtained possession of the fort, it would not be by capitulation. Apprehensive of such an attack, General Harrison had made the governors of Kentucky and Ohio minutely acquainted with

his situation, and stated to them the necessity of reinforcements for the relief of fort Meigs. His requisitions had been zealously anticipated; and General Clay was at this moment descending the Miami with twelve hundred Kentuckians for his relief.

*Arrival of Succours.* At twelve o'clock in the night of the fourth, an officer arrived from General Clay, with the welcome intelligence of his approach, stating that he was just above the rapids, and could reach him in two hours, and requesting his orders. Harrison determined on a general sally, and directed Clay to land eight hundred men on the right bank, take possession of the British batteries, spike their cannon, immediately return to their boats, and cross over to the American fort. The remainder of Clay's force were ordered to land on the left bank, and fight their way to the fort, while sorties were to be made from the garrison in aid of these operations. Captain Hamilton was directed to proceed up the river in a periauger, land a subaltern on the left bank, who should be a pilot to conduct General Clay to the fort; and then cross over and station his periauger at the place designated for the other division to land. General Clay, having received these orders, descended the river in order of battle in solid columns, each officer taking position according to his rank. Colonel Dudley, being the eldest in command, led the van, and was ordered to take the men in the twelve front boats, and execute General Harrison's orders on the right bank. He effected his landing at the place designated, without difficulty. General Clay kept close along the left bank until he came opposite the place of Colonel Dudley's landing, but not finding the subaltern there, he attempted to cross over and join Colonel Dudley; this was prevented by the violence of the current on the rapids; and he again attempted to land on the left bank, and effected it with only fifty men amid a brisk fire from the enemy on shore, and made his way to the fort, receiving their fire until within the protection of its guns. The other boats under the com-



mand of Colonel Boswell, were driven further down the current, and landed on the right to join Colonel Dudley. Here they were ordered to re-embark, land on the left bank, and proceed to the fort. In the mean time two sorties were made from the garrison, one on the left, in aid of Colonel Boswell, by which the Canadian militia and Indians were defeated, and he enabled to reach the fort in safety, and one on the right against the British batteries, which was also successful.

*Defeat of Colonel Dudley.* Colonel Dudley, with his detachment of eight hundred Kentucky militia, completely succeeded in driving the British from their batteries, and spiking the cannon. Having accomplished this object, his orders were peremptory to return immediately to his boats, and cross over to the fort; but the blind confidence which generally attends militia when successful, proved their ruin. Although repeatedly ordered by Colonel Dudley, and warned of their danger, and called upon from the fort to leave the ground; and although there was abundant time for that purpose, before the British reinforcements arrived; yet they commenced a pursuit of the Indians, and suffered themselves to be drawn into an ambuscade by some feint skirmishing, while the British troops and large bodies of Indians were brought up, and intercepted their return to the river. Elated with their first success, they considered the victory as already gained, and pursued the enemy nearly two miles into the woods and swamps, where they were suddenly caught in a defile, and surrounded by double their numbers. Finding themselves in this situation, consternation prevailed; their line became broken and disordered, and huddled together in unresisting crowds, they were obliged to surrender to the mercy of the savages. Fortunately for these unhappy victims of their own rashness, General Tecumseh commanded at this ambuscade, and had imbibed, since his appointment, more humane feelings than his brother Proctor. After the surrender, and all resistance had ceased, the Indians, finding five hundred prisoners at their mercy, began the work of massacre

with the most savage delight. Tecumseh sternly forbade it, and buried his tomahawk in the head of one of his chiefs who refused obedience. This order accompanied with this decisive manner of enforcing it, put an end to the massacre. Of eight hundred men, only one hundred and fifty escaped. The residue were slain, or made prisoners. Colonel Dudley was severely wounded in the action, and afterwards tomahawked and scalped.

*Siege raised.* Proctor, seeing no prospect of taking the fort, and finding his Indians fast leaving him, raised the siege on the 9th of May, and returned with precipitation to Malden. Tecumseh and a considerable portion of the Indians remained in service; but large numbers left it in disgust, and were ready to join the Americans. On the left bank, in the several sorties of the 5th of May, and during the seige, the American loss was eighty-one killed, and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded. General Harrison having repaired the fort, and committed its defence to General Clay, repaired to Franklinton to organize the new levies, and systematize a plan of defence for the Erie frontier. At lower Sandusky he met Governor Meigs at the head of a large body of Ohio volunteers, pressing on to his relief, and gave him the pleasing intelligence, that the siege was raised. The volunteers were there discharged with the warmest acknowledgments of the governor and general, for their promptness and zeal in marching to the relief of fort Meigs.

*Defence of the Erie Frontier.* At this period the situation of the settlements bordering on lake Erie, was peculiarly alarming; the British and Indians were in superior force at the head of the lake, and having the perfect command of the navigation, could strike at any point within twenty miles of the shore, in forty-eight hours, perform their work of destruction, and secure themselves on board their shipping before any succours could arrive. Tecumseh and Proctor seem to have been selected with peculiar judgment for such a work. Probably two more fit instruments could not have been found

in the whole British service. Not a dwelling or a village within twenty miles of the lake shore could be considered for a single night as safe from conflagration. The difficult and important task of defending this frontier, and retrieving the losses occasioned by the cowardice of General Hull, and the precipitancy of General Winchester, put to the severest test the bravery, skill, and judgment of General Harrison; his first measure was to ascertain with certainty what was to be depended on from the neighbouring Indians. For this purpose he held a council at Franklinton on the 21st of June, with fifty of the chiefs of the Delaware, Shawanee, Wyandot, and Seneca tribes; and stated to them that the crisis had now arrived in which they must take a stand either for or against the United States. As guarantees of their fidelity, they must either remove with their families into the settlements of the whites, or their warriors must accompany him to the field. The chiefs and warriors unanimously agreed to the latter. The general then informed them, that all who accompanied him must conform to his mode of warfare, and never injure or destroy old men, women, children, or prisoners. He further stated to them, that, as General Proctor had stipulated to deliver him to Tecumseh, had he succeeded in taking fort Meigs, he would now engage to deliver General Proctor into their hands, on condition that they would do him no other harm than to dress him in squaw's clothes, observing that none but cowards and squaws would kill a prisoner.

The general's next measure was to establish posts near the lake shore at the most exposed points, and within supporting distances of each other; with this view fort Stephenson was established at lower Sandusky, on the river, within eighteen miles of its entrance into the bay, and forty from fort Meigs. The defence of it was intrusted to Major George Crogan, one of the Kentucky volunteers, who had accompanied General Clay as his aid, and was now detached from fort Meigs, with one hundred and fifty of his comrades, on

this service. General Harrison, afterwards finding he could spare no greater force for the defence of this place, and viewing it as untenable, ordered it to be demolished, and the garrison to retire to upper Sandusky. On receiving this order, the young hero immediately repaired to head-quarters, and gave the General such evidence of his ability to sustain an attack as induced him to rescind the order. Soon after his return to the fort, the valour of Major Crogan and his corps was put to the severest test.

*Assault on Fort Stephenson.* On the 1st of August, General Proctor with twelve hundred men, appeared on the river approaching the fort. The brave little band in the garrison saw the river covered with boats, fraught with men, arms, and artillery, as far as the eye could reach, slowly advancing in order of battle, to the attack and as the British supposed, certain destruction, of the fort. Just out of reach of the artillery of the fort, which consisted only of one six pounder, the General landed his troops, took possession of all the avenues of escape, planted his batteries in commanding positions, and summoned the garrison to surrender, greatly magnifying his forces, and stating as usual, that if the fort was taken by storm it would not be in his power to prevent a massacre. The reply was a determined refusal, and this brave corps of heroic youth, their commander being only twenty-one, and his associates of about the same age, in the face of eight times their number, prepared for death or victory. When the flag returned, it was dark, and a heavy and incessant firing commenced and continued through the night, both from the gun-boats in the river, and the batteries on shore. The garrison was protected by pickets eighteen feet high, with bayonets nailed at the top, and pointing horizontally, and at the foot of the pickets by a ditch six feet in width and depth. The firing during the night had but little effect; early in the morning another battery was opened within two hundred and fifty yards of the pickets, and the fire directed to the north-west angle, which appeared to be the weakest point. This Major



Crogran secured by hanging over the pickets bags of sand and flour, so that little injury was sustained from the balls. Having continued the fire from the batteries until four in the afternoon, General Proctor, finding that no material effect was produced, ordered an assault upon the northwest angle. A column of five hundred men advanced amid such a firing and cloud of smoke, that they were not discovered until within about twenty paces of the works. At the same time two feints were made on the front of Captain Hunter's lines. The assailants were thrown into some confusion by a well directed fire from the garrison, but soon rallied, and rapidly advancing, began to leap the ditch; at this moment a fire of grape opened from their six pounder, which had been concealed, and was now so placed as to rake the ditch in the direction of the assailants; this, with an incessant fire of musketry, broke their ranks, and induced a precipitate retreat to the woods. During the whole time of the assault, which lasted thirty minutes, a constant and heavy fire was kept up from the batteries.

*Repulse.* Colonel Short, who commanded the regulars, composing the forlorn hope, having formed his line parallel with the works, ordered his men to leap the ditch, cut down the pickets, and give the Americans no quarters; at that moment he received a mortal wound in the body, fell into the ditch, hoisted a flag on the end of his sword, and begged for that mercy which he had a moment before ordered to be denied to his enemy. Fifty-two dead, dying, and wounded were left in the ditch; the groans of the wounded, and their constant cries for water, excited the compassion of the garrison to such a degree, that they were induced to supply them, though at the risk of their lives, as a constant firing was kept up from the batteries during the night. At three in the morning, the brave youth in the garrison had the satisfaction to see the assailing foe quit the ground, re-embark, and proceed down the river, leaving behind them seventy stands of arms, several braces of pistols, and a boat loaded with clothing and

military stores. Their loss was estimated at one hundred and fifty. One lieutenant colonel, one lieutenant, and fifty rank and file, were found dead and wounded in front of the works. The remainder of the wounded were taken off by the Indians during the night. The American loss was one killed, and seven wounded. This defeat was the more humiliating to General Proctor, as it was accomplished by a small band of raw soldiers, commanded by an inexperienced youth. To the border inhabitants it was highly important, as it secured them from further Indian massacre. Proctor's allies became disaffected, and left him in great numbers. The state of Ohio, within whose limits this achievement was accomplished, more immediately experienced its beneficial consequences. The ladies of Chilicothe, immediately on hearing the news, presented their favourite hero with an elegant sword accompanied with the following card.

“CHILICOTHE, August 13th, 1813.

“SIR,

“In consequence of the gallant defence, which, under the influence of Divine Providence, was effected by you and the troops under your command, of fort Stevenson, on Lower Sandusky, on the second instant, the undersigned, ladies of Chilicothe, impressed with a high sense of your merits as a soldier and a gentleman, and with great confidence in your patriotism and valour, present you this sword.

“MAJOR GEORGE CROGAN.”

To which they received the following reply :

“LOWER SANDUSKY, August 25th, 1813.

“LADIES OF CHILICOTHE,

“I have received the sword you was pleased to present me as a testimonial of your approbation of my conduct on the second instant. A mark of distinction so flattering and so unexpected, has excited feelings which I cannot express ; yet while I return you thanks for the unmerited

gift you have thus bestowed, I feel well aware the good fortune, bought by the activity of the brave officers and soldiers under my command, has raised in you expectations from my future efforts, which must, I fear, sooner or later be disappointed. Still I pledge myself that my exertions shall be such as never to cause you in the least to regret the honours you have been pleased to confer on your youthful soldier.

“GEORGE CROGAN.”

Such rewards of valour, so handsomely bestowed, excited in the breasts of the youthful officers, the nursery of the army, an ardour and emulation not to be extinguished or overcome.

The enemy appeared several times in the course of the summer before fort Meigs, and threatened another siege, but finding it well secured, made no attempt. After their defeat at Sandusky, they made no further hostile movements of any magnitude, until the subsequent events on lake Erie wholly changed the complexion of affairs on this frontier.

*Navy on Lake Erie.* The original plan of operations in relation to the western section of the Canadas was, to take the countries bordering upon the upper lakes, which would have superseded the necessity of a naval force upon those waters. The small British naval power, being deprived of harbours, it was expected would of necessity have fallen into the hands of the Americans. The unexpected surrender of General Hull and his army wholly frustrated this measure, and rendered a superior force on lake Erie necessary for the defence of the American territory bordering on the lake, as well as for offensive operations in Canada. After the surrender of Detroit, government immediately turned their attention to this object. Oliver H. Perry, a brave and accomplished young officer, who had the command of a flotilla of gun-boats for the defence of New-York, was designated to the command on lake Erie. At this time, the United States possessed no naval force on the lake; the only vessels belonging to the government were captured at Detroit. The southern, or American



lake shore, is principally a sand beach, formed by the sediment of the lake driven upon the shore by the northerly winds. There are but few harbours, and those encumbered with bars at their entrance. At Presque Isle, within the bounds of Pennsylvania, and ninety miles west of Buffalo, a peninsula extending a considerable distance into the lake encircles a harbour, on the borders of which is built the village of Erie. At this place Commodore Perry was directed to repair, and superintend a naval establishment, the object of which was to create a superior force on the lake. The difficulties of building a navy in the wilderness can only be conceived by those who have experienced them. There was nothing at this spot out of which it could be built, but the timber of the forest. Ship-builders, sailors, naval stores, guns, and ammunition, were to be transported by land over bad roads a distance of four hundred miles, either from Albany by the way of Buffalo, or from Philadelphia by the way of Pittsburgh. Under all these embarrassments, by the first of August, 1813, Commodore Perry had provided a flotilla, consisting of the ships *Lawrence* and *Niagara* of twenty guns each, and seven smaller vessels, to wit, one of four guns, one of three, two of two, and three of one; in the whole fifty-four guns. While the ships were building, the enemy frequently appeared off the harbour and threatened their destruction, but the shallowness of the water on the bar, their being but five feet, prevented their approach. The same cause, which ensured the safety of the ships while building, seemed to prevent their being of any service. The two largest drew several feet more water than there was on the bar. The inventive genius of Commodore Perry, however, soon surmounted this difficulty; he placed large scows on each side of the two largest ships, filled them so as to sink to the water edge, then attached them to the ships by strong pieces of timber, and pumped out the water. The scows then buoyed up the ships so as to pass the bar in safety. This operation was performed on both the large ships, in the presence of a superior enemy. Having gotten his fleet in readi-



ness, Commodore Perry proceeded to the head of the lake and anchored in Put-in-Bay, opposite to, and distant thirty miles from Malden, where the British fleet lay under the guns of the fort. He lay at anchor here several days, watching the motions of the enemy, determined to give him battle the first favourable opportunity. On the 10th of September at sunrise, the British fleet, consisting of one ship of nineteen guns, one of seventeen, one of thirteen, and one of ten, one of three, and one of one, amounting to sixty-four, and exceeding the Americans by ten guns, under the command of Commodore Barclay appeared off Put-in-Bay, distant about ten miles. Commodore Perry immediately got under weigh with a light breeze at south-west. At 10 o'clock, the wind hauled to the south-east which brought the American squadron to the windward, and gave them the weather-gage. Commodore Perry, on board the *Lawrence*, then hoisted his union jack, having for a motto the dying words of Captain Lawrence, "*Don't give up the ship,*" which was received with repeated cheers by the crew.

*Naval Battle.* He then formed the line of battle, and bore up for the enemy, who at the same time hauled his courses and prepared for action. The lightness of the wind, occasioned the hostile squadrons to approach each other but slowly, and prolonged for two hours, the solemn interval of suspense and anxiety which precedes a battle. The order and regularity of naval discipline heightened the dreadful quiet of the moment. No noise, no bustle, prevailed to distract the mind, except at intervals, the shrill pipings of the boatswain's whistle, or a murmuring whisper among the men, who stood in groups around their guns, with lighted matches, narrowly watching the movements of the foe, and sometimes stealing a glance at the countenances of their commanders. In this manner, the hostile fleets gradually neared each other in awful silence. At fifteen minutes after eleven, a bugle was sounded on board the enemy's head-most ship, *Detroit*, loud cheers burst from all their crews, and a tremendous fire opened upon the *Lawrence*, from the British long guns, which, from the

shortness of the *Lawrence's*, she was obliged to sustain for forty minutes without being able to return a shot.

Commodore Perry, without waiting for the other ships, kept on his course in such gallant and determined style, that the enemy supposed he meant immediately to board. At five minutes before twelve, having gained a nearer position, the *Lawrence* opened her fire, but the long guns of the British still gave them greatly the advantage, and the *Lawrence* was exceedingly cut up without being able to do but very little damage in return. Their shot pierced her side in all directions, killing the men in the birth-deck and steerage, where they had been carried to be dressed. One shot had nearly produced a fatal explosion; passing through the light room, it knocked the snuff of the candle into the magazine, fortunately the gunner saw it, and had the presence of mind immediately to extinguish it. It appeared to be the enemy's plan at all events to destroy the commodore's ship; their heaviest fire was directed against the *Lawrence*, and blazed incessantly from all their largest vessels. Commodore Perry, finding the hazard of his situation, made all sail and directed the other vessels to follow for the purpose of closing with the enemy. The tremendous fire, however, to which he was exposed, soon cut away every brace and bowline of the *Lawrence*, and she became unmanageable. The other vessels were unable to get up; and in this disastrous situation she sustained the main force of the enemy's fire for upwards of two hours, within cannister distance, though a considerable part of the time not more than two or three of her guns could be brought to bear on her antagonist. The utmost order and regularity prevailed during this scene of horror; as fast as the men at the guns were wounded, they were carried below, and others stepped into their places; the dead remained where they fell until after the action; at this juncture the enemy believed the battle to be won. The *Lawrence* was reduced to a mere wreck, her deck was streaming with blood, and covered with the mangled limbs and bodies of the slain; nearly the whole

of her crew were either killed or wounded ; her guns were dismounted, and the commodore and his officers helped to work the last that was capable of service. At two, Captain Elliott was enabled by the aid of a fresh breeze to bring his ship into close action in gallant style : and the commodore immediately determined to shift his flag on board that ship ; and giving his own in charge to Lieutenant Yarnell, he hauled down his union jack and taking it under his arm, ordered a boat to put him on board the Niagara. Broad-sides were levelled at his boat, and a shower of musketry from three of the enemy's ships. He arrived safe and hoisted his union jack, with the animating motto, on board the Niagara. Captain Elliott by direction of the commodore, immediately put off in a boat to bring up the schooners which had been kept back by the lightness of the wind. At this moment the flag of the Lawrence was hauled down ; she had sustained the principal force of the enemy's fire for two hours, and was rendered incapable of defence. Any further show of resistance would have been a useless sacrifice of the relics of her brave and mangled crew. The enemy were at the same time so crippled, that they were unable to take possession of her, and circumstances soon enabled her crew again to hoist her flag. Commodore Perry now gave the signal to all the vessels for close action. The small vessels, under the direction of Captain Elliott, got out their sweeps, and made all sail. Finding the Niagara but little injured, the commander determined upon the bold and desperate expedient of breaking the enemy's line ; he accordingly bore up and passed the head of the two ships and brig, giving them a raking fire, from his starboard guns, and also a raking fire upon a large schooner and sloop, from his larboard quarter, at half pistol shot. Having gotten the whole squadron into action, he luffed up and laid his ship alongside of the British commodore. The small vessels having now got up within good grape and cannister distance on the other quarter, enclosed their enemy between them and the Niagara, and in this position kept up a most destructive



fire on both quarters of the British, until every ship struck her colours.

*Victory.* The engagement lasted about three hours, and never was victory more decisive and complete. More prisoners were taken than there were men on board the American squadron at the close of the action. The principal loss in killed and wounded was on board the *Lawrence*, before the other vessels were brought into action. Of her crew twenty-two were killed, and sixty wounded. When her flag was struck, but twenty men remained on deck fit for duty. The loss on board of all the other vessels was only five killed, and thirty-six wounded.\* The British loss must have been much more considerable. Commodore Barclay was dangerously wounded. He had lost one arm in the battle of *Trafalgar*. The other was now rendered useless, by the loss of a part of his shoulder-blade; he received also a severe wound in the hip.

Commodore Perry, in his official despatch, speaks in the highest terms of respect and commiseration for his wounded antagonist, and asks leave to grant him an immediate parole. Of Captain Elliott, his second in command, he says, "That he is already so well known to the government, that it would be almost superfluous to speak. In this action he evinced his characteristic bravery and judgment, and since the close of it has given me the most able and essential assistance." Notwithstanding this high encomium of his commander, under whose eye he acted during the whole engagement, this brave officer has been accused of cowardice and disobedience of orders, in not bringing his ship sooner into action. The bold and desperate measure of pressing forward into action with the *Lawrence* alone, and exposing her to the whole fire of the enemy's fleet for two hours, before the other ships could be got up, has been censured as rash, and not warranted by the rules of naval war; but there are seasons when the commander must rely more on the daring promptness of his

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\* Commodore Perry's letter to the Secretary of War.



measures, than on nice calculations of comparative strength. Neither Bonaparte nor Nelson ever stopped to measure accurately the strength of the respective combatants. The result, is the acknowledged and generally the best criterion of merit; and it should not detract from the eclat of the successful commander that his measures were bold and decisive.

Two days after the battle, two Indian chiefs who had been selected for their skill as marksmen, and stationed in the tops of the Detroit, for the purpose of picking off the American officers, were found snugly stowed away in the hold of the Detroit. These savages, who had been accustomed to ships of no greater magnitude than what they could sling on their backs, when the action became warm, were so panic-struck at the terrors of the scene, and the strange perils that surrounded them, that, looking at each other with amazement, they vociferated their significant *quonn*, and precipitately descended to the hold. In their British uniforms hanging in bags upon their famished bodies, they were brought before Commodore Perry, fed, and discharged; no further parole being necessary, to prevent their afterwards engaging in the contest. The slain of the crews of both squadrons were committed to the lake immediately after the action. The next day, the funeral obsequies of the American and British officers who had fallen, were performed at an opening on the margin of the bay, in an appropriate and affecting manner. The crews of both fleets united in the ceremony. The stillness of the weather—the procession of boats—the music—the slow and regular motion of the oars, striking in exact time with the notes of the solemn dirge—the mournful waving of the flags—the sound of the minute-guns from all the ships—the wild and solitary aspect of the place, gave to these funeral rites a most impressive influence, and formed an affecting contrast with the terrible conflict of the preceding day. Then the people of the two squadrons were engaged in the deadly strife of arms: now they were associated as brothers, to pay the last tribute of respect to the slain of both nations. Two Ameri-

can officers, Lieutenant Brooks, and Midshipman Laub, of the Lawrence; and three British, Captain Finnis, and Lieutenant Stoke of the Charlotte, and Lieutenant Garland of the Detroit, lie interred by the side of each other, in this lonely place, on the margin of the lake, a few paces from the beach.

This interesting battle was fought midway of the lake, between the two hostile armies, who lay on the opposite shores, waiting in anxious expectation, its result. The allied British and Indian forces to the amount of four thousand five hundred, under Proctor and Tecumseh, were at Malden ready, in case of a successful issue, to renew their ravages on the American borders.

*General Harrison's Army.*—General Harrison, with the main body of the Americans, lay around Sandusky bay, and at fort Meigs, prepared in the event of success by the American squadron, to recover Detroit, and carry the war into Canada. His army had lately received an important reinforcement of three thousand volunteers from Kentucky, with Governor Shelby at their head. The valour and patriotism of the citizens of that state, instead of being damped by the loss of their comrades at the river Raisin, and fort Meigs, glowed with increased ardour. Secure, in consequence of her central situation, from invasion either by land or water, Kentucky might have contented herself with bearing her proportion of the public burthens, and answering occasional calls of militia with little hazard to the lives of her citizens. But instead of this cautious and prudent course, her sons in great numbers, were found foremost in the ranks of volunteers in distant expeditions. Colonel R. M. Johnson, who had been a zealous advocate for the strongest war measures in Congress, and to whom Mr. Randolph had pledged himself the preceding winter to follow to the tented field; immediately on his return from Congress opened a rendezvous at Lexington, raised a fine regiment of mounted volunteers, and accompanied Governor Shelby to the army of the north-west. With these reinforcements the general found his army about six

thousand strong, and anxious to retrieve the losses of the past season.

Commodore Perry, having landed his prisoners at Sandusky, whence they were escorted under the direction of General Harrison to the depôt of Chilicothe, and made equal provision for the wounded of both squadrons, prepared to transport the army to Malden. The Kentucky mounted volunteers took the route by the western border of the lake to Detroit, and passed the river Raisin at Frenchtown, where, in the January preceding, the army under General Winchester was captured and massacred. Here they halted for a day, collected the unburied remains of their relatives and fellow-citizens, and consigned them to the earth. Having performed this solemn duty, they proceeded on their route to meet General Harrison.

*Proctor evacuates Malden.* On the capture of his fleet, Proctor, learning the preparation that Harrison was making for the invasion of Canada, determined to abandon Malden, Detroit, and the western section of the Canadas, and to retire by the river Thames, through the wilderness, to the Niagara frontier. He put his heavy artillery and baggage aboard boats, and sent them by Detroit to the mouth of the Thames; thence up that river, towards the Moravian towns, and prepared to destroy the works at Malden and Detroit. The sagacious Tecumseh saw in these measures the total ruin of the Indian confederacy, which he had formed under the auspices of the British government, for the destruction of the American settlements in the west, and with it all his prospects.

The British government had sent to Tecumseh and his Indians considerable presents in arms, ammunition, and blankets, to encourage and reward their fidelity; these had arrived at Malden some days before the battle on the lake; but Proctor, apprehensive that if the Indians got possession of their presents, they could leave him, had refused to deliver them. Before their departure from Malden, Tecumseh de-

manded these goods, and addressed Proctor in the following strong and severe terms:

*Tecumseh's Speech.* “*In the name of the Indian chiefs and warriors, to General Proctor, the representative of our Great Father the King.*

“Father! listen to your children. You have them now all before you. The war before this, our British father gave the hatchet to his red children, when our old chiefs were alive. They are now dead. In that war our father was thrown on his back by the Americans, and he afterwards took them by the hand without our knowledge, and we are afraid he will do so again at this time.

“Listen! when war was declared, our father stood up and gave us the tomahawk, and told us he was now ready to strike the Americans, and that he wanted our assistance, and that he would certainly get our lands back, which the Americans had taken from us.

“Listen! you told us to bring our families to this place, and we did so. You promised to take care of them, and that they should want for nothing, while the men would go and fight the enemy. You told your red children that you would take good care of your garrison here, which made our hearts glad.

“Listen, father! our fleet has gone out; we know they have fought; we have heard the great guns, but know nothing of what has happened to our father with one arm.\* Our ships have gone one way, and we are very much astonished to see our father tying up every thing, and preparing to run away the other, without letting his red children know what he means. You always told us to remain here, and take care of our lands, which made our hearts glad. Our great father the king is the head, and you represent him. You always told us you never could draw your foot off British ground; but now, father, we see you are drawing back without seeing

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\* Commodore Barclay.



the enemy. We must compare our father's conduct to a fat animal, that carries his tail on his back, but when affrighted drops it between its legs and runs off.

"Listen, father! the Americans have not yet defeated us by land; nor are we sure they have done so by water. We wish to remain here and fight our enemy, should they make their appearance. If they defeat us, we shall then retreat with our father.

"Father! we see you preparing to march out of the garrison. You have got the arms and ammunition which the great father sent to his red children. If you have any idea of going away, give them to us, and you may go. Our lives are in the hands of the Great Spirit; we are determined to defend our lands, and if it is His will, we are determined to leave our bones upon them."

Proctor was in a strongly fortified camp, with abundance of munitions of war, and with nearly as many troops as his antagonist could be expected to bring against him. His chance of a successful defence at this point, was better than at any other to which he might retreat: yet neither these considerations, nor the bold and severe remonstrances of Tecumseh and his associates, had any influence upon his fears; he determined to prevent the threatened attack of the American general, by an early retreat beyond his reach. On the 24th of September, he broke up his camp at Malden, destroyed the public buildings, and all the stores that he could not carry with him, and commenced a precipitate retreat towards the head of the Thames. Many of his Indians left him; Tecumseh, and the greater part of the warriors followed with reluctance. At Dalson's farm, on the Thames, sixty miles from Detroit, he made a halt to wait the arrival of his boats with the artillery and baggage.

*Harrison's pursuit.* Harrison lost no time in carrying his plans into effect. On the 27th of September, he embarked his army at Portage, and landed at Malden; finding his enemy had fled, he proceeded immediately to Sandwich, detached

General M'Arthur, with seven hundred men, to re-occupy Detroit and the Michigan territory; and on the second of October, being joined by Colonel Johnson's mounted volunteers, proceeded up the Thames in pursuit of Proctor. His effective force now amounted to thirty-five hundred men. Commodore Perry volunteered his services as aid to General Harrison, and contributed much to the success of the expedition, which his naval victory had rendered practicable. On the evening of the second of October, the army reached the river, twenty-five miles from Sandwich. Here they came to a branch of the Thames, over which a bridge had been erected, and left entire: they passed this on the morning of the third, and hastened on rapidly to another branch, where they found and captured a small party who had been sent back to destroy the bridge; this they had time only partially to accomplish: the bridge was soon repaired, and the army encamped on the evening of the third at Drake's farm. The artillery and heavy baggage were brought in boats, provided by Commodore Perry, up the Thames as far as Dalson's. Thus far the banks were low, and the country an open prairie. Above this point the banks were high and woody, affording abundant places for ambuscade. General Harrison left the boats and most of the heavy baggage at Dalson's, under a guard of one hundred and fifty infantry. On the 4th, the army proceeded to Chatham, four miles in advance of Dalson's: here they came to a third unfordable branch of the Thames. Proctor had destroyed the bridge at the mouth of this stream, and also the one at M'Gregor's mills, one mile above. Large bodies of Indians appeared on the opposite bank to dispute the passage, and commenced a sharp fire on the American advance guard. The army was formed in order of battle, two six pounders were drawn up, and a few well directed discharges dispersed the savages. A bridge was immediately constructed, and the army crossed and continued their advance. Proctor learning the near approach of Harrison, had conveyed his boats up the river as far as practicable,

and set fire to them. In addition to the baggage of the army, the boats British contained the large supplies of blankets, arms, and ammunition for the Indians, which Tecumseh had claimed to have delivered to them at Malden. A part of these supplies were landed and stored in buildings on the river, and a part remained on board the boats. A quantity of them was found in a house which was in flames near the last bridge. The fire was soon extinguished, and the arms saved. At the first farm above the bridge was found one of the enemy's boats on fire, deeply laden with Indian supplies; and at Bowle's farm, four miles further in advance, where the army halted for the night, they found two other boats, and a large distillery, filled with ordnance and other valuable stores, in flames. Two twenty-four pounders, with their carriages, and a large quantity of ammunition and shells, were taken at this place. On the 5th, the army continued their march on the left bank, and took two gun-boats, and several batteaux laden with provisions and ammunition. By nine o'clock, they arrived at Arnold's mills, where was the only fording-place for several miles; and this was now too deep for infantry. Each dragoon took one of the infantry behind him, and crossed over; by these means, and with the assistance of some boats, the army were soon landed on the right bank, and immediately commenced their line of march up the river. Eight miles further they passed a farm where the rear of the British army had encamped the preceding night. A reconnoitering party returned, and reported that Proctor, with the main body, was posted near the Moravian towns, four miles in advance. The road this distance passes through a beach forest, without any clearing, and for the first two miles near the bank of the river; about three hundred yards from the river and parallel to it, an impenetrable swamp extends the whole distance; the intermediate space is hard ground, somewhat elevated, and covered with trees. The whole British and Indian force were drawn up in a strong position across this strip of hard land, their left resting on the river, sup-

ported by a strong battery placed in the road, and their right protected by the swamp, and covered by the whole Indian force. General Harrison immediately formed his line of battle. General Trotter's brigade of Kentucky volunteers formed the front line, his right resting on the road, and his left on the swamp. The whole of General Desha's division, consisting of two brigades, were formed upon Trotter's left flank, the crotchet formed by the front line, and General Desha's division was occupied by the venerable governor of Kentucky, who at the age of sixty-six, manifested all the ardour of youth, aided by the experience of age. The second line consisting of General King's brigade was formed one hundred and fifty yards in the rear of the first, and Chile's brigade as a corps de reserve in the rear of King's. The flanks of the enemy were secured in such a manner as to render it impossible to turn them. The only alternative was to charge directly in front. This hazardous duty was assigned to Colonel Johnson's mounted infantry. For this purpose they were drawn up in close columns with their right, at the distance of fifty yards from the road, protected in some measure by the trees from the artillery, and their left resting on the swamp; and were ordered to charge at full speed as soon as the enemy had delivered their fire.

*Battle of the Moravian towns.* Having made these arrangements, General Harrison, with Commodore Perry, Captain Butler, and General Cass, as his aids, took his station at the head of the front line, and moved on to the attack. In a few moments the mounted men received the fire of the British line, and were ordered to charge. The horses in the front column recoiled from the fire; another was immediately given by the enemy, and the American column, at length getting in motion, broke through the British ranks with irresistible force. In one minute the contest in front was over; the British officers seeing no hopes of reducing their broken ranks to order, and the mounted men wheeling upon them and pouring in



destructive fire, they immediately surrendered.\* Upon the left the contest was more severe with the Indians. Colonel Johnson, who commanded on that flank of his regiment, received a most galling fire. At the head of his column he led them into the hottest of the action, and was personally opposed to Tecumseh; at this point a mass of savages were collected. Johnson, mounted on an elegant white charger, was easily distinguished as an officer of rank; a shower of balls were discharged at him, his horse was shot and fell, his clothes, saddle, and person were pierced with a number of balls.

*Tecumseh slain.* Tecumseh, seeing his antagonist falling, rushed towards him with his uplifted tomahawk to give the fatal blow; when within a few yards, Johnson drew his pistol, and laid his daring opponent dead at his feet. He was unable to do more; he had received three shots in the thigh, and two in the arm; the loss of blood deprived him of the power of standing, and he lay exhausted and helpless by the side of his antagonist. At the moment Tecumseh fell, the Indians around him gave way. Those still further on the left of the American lines, advanced and fell in with the front line of infantry near its junction with Desha's division, and for a moment made an impression; Governor Shelby, however, brought up another regiment to its support, and a part of Colonel Johnson's regiment having gained their rear, they retreated with precipitation. Six Americans and twenty-two Indians were slain within twenty yards of the spot where Tecumseh lay. Most of the severe fighting was on this ground. But seven Americans were killed, and twenty-two wounded in the action. Of the British regulars, twelve were killed, and twenty-two wounded; six hundred, including twenty-five officers, were taken prisoners. Of the Indians, twenty-two were found dead on the field, and many more killed on the retreat. Six pieces of brass artillery, and two

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\* General Harrison's letter to the secretary of war.

twenty-four pounders were taken, and several sunk in the river. Of the brass pieces, three were of those taken from the British in the revolutionary war, and surrendered by General Hull at Detroit. Proctor narrowly escaped leaving his sword, baggage, and papers, in possession of the victors.

The fruits of this victory were the total dispersion of the allied British and Indian forces, who had for more than a year past ravaged the north-western frontier. The capture of all their baggage, provisions, and arms, and a large quantity of military stores destined to supply the Indians, and the restoration of Detroit and the Michigan territory. Among Proctor's papers were found several letters from British agents among the Indians, clearly evincing that they had at different times since the peace of 1783, and before the commencement of the present war, instigated them to acts of hostility against the United States. Proctor fled to the Niagara frontier, and was afterwards tried by a court martial, and disgraced. The brave Kentuckians had now in their power the very authors and instigators of the massacres of their brethren at the river Raisin; but, too noble to seek revenge on a fallen foe, they treated them with the humanity and kindness due to prisoners of war; and, on their return safely conducted them to camp Ball at Chilicothe, to join their brethren in the navy. From the second to the fifth of October, General Harrison, with an army of three thousand five hundred men, penetrated the wilderness a distance of eighty miles; overtook, fought, and vanquished an enemy, his equal in numbers on their own ground, and returned to Detroit by the 9th; an expedition for success and despatch scarcely equalled in the annals of history.

*Effects of the Victory.* This victory completely broke up and dispersed the Indian confederacy of the north-west. Most of the warriors forsook their allies, and came in and threw themselves on the mercy of the Americans. The wretched remains of the hostile tribes were in a forlorn and destitute condition. The winter approaching, and they and their families alike destitute of clothing, and provisions, or the means

of obtaining them. In this situation the Americans extended the hand of charity, and supplied them with necessaries during the winter.

The British policy of uniting the Indians in a war of extermination against the frontier settlements of the United States, was not only barbarous and inhuman in itself, but absolutely abortive in its effects. The objects of the British government were, to prevent the increase of the settlements in the western country, to render the war so distressing to the border inhabitants, as to induce a submission to their views, and to increase and extend their power among the Indian tribes. Precisely the reverse of all these effects were produced by the events of this campaign. The Indian war laid open to the view of land speculators, the fine country occupied by the Indians, and conducted an emigration to the western states immediately after the close of the war, unequalled at any former period. The cruelties practised by the savages in their incursions, rendered the war popular, and nerved every arm in defence of the country; and the final dereliction of their cause by Proctor, gave a fatal blow to British influence among the savages. The frontiers have enjoyed greater security since the defeat of Proctor, than at any former period, and the influence of the American government over the Indians within their limits, has, in a great measure, superseded the British.

## CHAPTER XII.

Montreal.—Back Passage from Montreal to the Upper Lakes.—British Naval Force on Lake Ontario.—American, under Commodore Chauncey.—Military Force destined for a Descent on Montreal.—Expeditions against York.—Death of General Pike.—Attack on Sackett's Harbour.—Capture of Fort George.—British retire to Burlington Heights.—Battle at Stoney Creek.—Capture of Generals Chandler and Winder.—Battle at the Beaver Dams.—Capture of Colonel Boerstler's Detachment.—Colonel Scott's Expedition to Burlington Heights and York.—General Wilkinson appointed to the command of the Northern Army.—Arrives at Sackett's Harbour.—Makes arrangements for a Descent on Montreal.—War Department removed to Sackett's Harbour.—Troops embark from Fort George for Grenadier Island.—Sailing of the Flotilla from French Creek.—Descent on the St. Lawrence.—Pursuit of the British.—Battle at Williamsburgh.—General Covington killed.—Flotilla arrives at the foot of the Long Sault.—General Hampton refuses to join the Expedition.—Correspondence between him and General Wilkinson.—Expedition abandoned.—Army go into Winter-Quarters at French Mills.—General Hampton's advances to Chatauguay.—Returns to Plattsburgh.—Vermont Militia called out by the War Department to guard Plattsburgh.—Ordered to return by Governor Chittenden.—Causes of the failure of the Expedition.—Defence of the Niagara Frontier intrusted to General McClure and the New-York Militia.—Evacuation of Fort George and burning of Newark.—Fort Niagara taken.—Massacre.—Burning of the Niagara Frontier.—Militia retire to Batavia.—Governor Prevost's Proclamation.

*Montreal.* THE conquest of the Canadas was avowedly the main object of the military operations in the north. Quebec, strongly fortified by nature and art, and accessible by sea for the largest ships of war, was considered unassailable ; but Montreal, and the whole country to the north-west, was deemed an easy acquisition. The latter city stands on the south side of an island of the same name in the river St. Lawrence, thirty miles long and ten broad, five hundred miles from the



sea at the head of ship navigation ; and is the most populous and commercial city of British America, containing twenty thousand inhabitants. All the merchandise with which the north-western country is supplied, is here deposited. The western Indians, the inhabitants of Upper Canada, and the inhabitants of the United States bordering on the lakes, are supplied from this source ; their returns are also deposited here, from whence they are shipped to various European markets. From this point the British north-west company, one of the richest, and most profitable establishments in Europe, carry on their immense traffic with the natives of the north-west, and extend their enterprises to the borders of the Pacific. They employ several thousand men, and afford a great market for British manufactures. A large proportion of this intercourse is carried on by means of the back passage from Montreal to the upper lakes.

*Back Passage to the Upper Lakes.* Near the south-western extremity of the island, the Ottawa, or Grand river, enters the St. Lawrence from the north-west. The merchandise destined for lake Huron and the regions beyond, is put up in packages of about one hundred weight each, and together with the necessary provisions, are put on board birch canoes, which carry ten men each, with their provisions, and sixty packages of merchandise. In the month of May annually, large flotillas of this species of water craft leave Montreal, enter the Ottawa, and proceed on their voyage to the upper lakes. Fifteen miles from the mouth of the Ottawa, the navigation is interrupted by rapids, for the distance of ten miles. At the foot of these, the canoes are unloaded, and their contents transported on men's shoulders this distance, and the canoes towed up the current with great labour. After passing these rapids, the stream is tranquil and of easy navigation for sixty miles, where the voyagers reach the portage of Chaudiere. Here is a cascade of twenty feet, around which the canoes with all their lading, are transported on men's shoulders. Thence to the portage des Chenes, the passage is

short. There are two smaller portages in the distance of eighteen miles to the grand Columet where the current is again tranquil. There are four other portages on this river where the voyagers have to transport all their lading and canoes on their shoulders, before they arrive to the mouth of the Petit Reviere, which falls into the Ottaway from the south-west, four hundred miles from Montreal. Here the voyagers must turn off to the left and ascend this river, sixty-five miles, interrupted by thirteen portages, to the high lands which divide the waters of lake Huron, from those of the Ottaway. Across these heights is a land carriage of six miles, where the voyagers have to transport their canoes, packages, and provisions, to lake Nipissing; this, without the aid of beasts of burden, is a work of time and immense labour; the men having to travel the ground from twenty to thirty times to get all their baggage across. This lake is thirty-six miles long and fifteen broad, around which the voyagers must coast until they reach the entrance of French river, which flows from this lake to Huron, a distance of eighty miles. The navigation is interrupted on this river by five portages. Having reached lake Huron, the men, provisions, and merchandise are transported in small vessels across the lake to fort St. Josephs, at the foot of the straits of St. Marie, by which the waters of lake Superior communicate with Huron. The navigation of these straits is interrupted by falls. From fort St. Joseph's the merchandise which has been thus transported is distributed in various directions to the Indians of the north-west, their furs collected, and transported by the same route to Montreal.

The merchandise destined for the more southern regions is transported in boats up the St. Lawrence to Kingston, whence it is shipped in lake vessels to Queenston at the foot of the Niagara cataract, thence transported by land around the falls and re-shipped on lake Erie. Montreal is the emporium of this commerce; and the nation possessing it of course commands all the country on the lakes above. The

occupation of this city, which would necessarily draw with it the possession of Upper Canada, formed the principal object of the campaign of 1813, on the Canada border.

*Sackett's Harbour.* As a previous step, the command of lake Ontario was absolutely essential. For this purpose, Sackett's Harbour, on the east end of the lake near its outlet, was selected as a naval depôt. This harbour lies at the mouth of the Black river, nearly opposite to, and thirty miles distant from Kingston, the principal military and naval station of the British on the lake. The harbour has a sufficient depth of water, is well sheltered, and capable of defence, and is one hundred and seventy miles from Albany, from whence supplies were to be drawn for the naval and military operations of the campaign.

*Ontario Fleet.* The British had a considerable military force at Kingston, and a respectable navy under the command of Sir James Yeo, late commander of the frigate *Southampton*, an experienced, intelligent, and judicious officer. Commodore Isaac Chauncey, an officer of experience and high reputation, was selected by the American government, for the command on this station, and arrived at the harbour with a large body of sailors and marines on the 6th of October, 1812. At this time the United States had but one vessel, the brig *Oneida*, on the lake. The British force consisted of six vessels, mounting eighty guns. Chauncey immediately purchased all the merchant ships which were obtainable, and fitted them for the naval service. By the 8th of November, he had obtained and equipped a sufficient force to appear on the lake, and sailed with the *Oneida* and six schooners, in quest of his antagonist. On the 10th he fell in with the *Royal George*, the largest of the enemy's ships, chased her into Kingston harbour, and captured two schooners. On the 12th he took the transport sloop *Elizabeth*, chased the *Earl Moira* into Kingston, and blockaded that harbour until the 7th of December, when the ice obliged him to return to Sackett's Harbour, and suspend further operations until spring. On

the 26th of November, the ship Madison was launched in fifty-five days from the time of laying her keel; and the ship General Pike was built, launched, and equipped in one hundred days.

At the opening of the spring of 1813, the American fleet had the complete ascendancy on the lake. Chauncey was able to confine every British ship to the harbour of Kingston. A respectable military force of six thousand men, composing the army of the north, had been organized under General Dearborn for the conquest of Canada: the neighbouring militia might be called in, to any amount, to supply any deficiency of numbers in the regular army; and to guard the harbour in their absence. No reinforcements had or could arrive for the protection of Montreal until June. Under these circumstances a descent upon that city early in the season, must have been attended with undoubted success. Unfortunately this favourable state of things escaped the notice of the officer at the head of the war department, and the energies of the nation were directed to a much less important and less attainable object.

*Capture of York.* On the 23d of April, General Dearborn embarked at Sackett's Harbour, with sixteen hundred men on an expedition against York, at the head of the lake, leaving the defence of the harbour, with all the stores, public property, and a new ship on the stocks, to a handful of regulars, under Colonel Backus, and the neighbouring militia not then arrived. It seemed to have escaped the observation of the commanding general, that the enemy would probably in his absence, strike at an important post thus left uncovered. On the 27th, General Dearborn with the fleet, arrived before the town of York and immediately commenced a disembarkation, The commanding general intrusted the further prosecution of the expedition to General Pike, and remained on board the fleet. To oppose their landing a corps of British grenadiers, the Glengary fencibles, and several bodies of Indians, appeared at different points on the shore. At eight o'clock the troops



commenced their landing, three miles westward of the town, and a mile and a half distant from the British works. The place first designated for their landing, was a cleared field near the site of the old French fort Tarento; but the wind was high and prevented the first division from landing at that place, and also prevented the ships from covering their disembarkation. The riflemen under Major Forsythe first landed under a heavy fire from the enemy. Major General Sheaffe had collected his whole force, consisting of about seven or eight hundred regulars and militia, with a hundred Indians, to oppose their landing, and commanded in person. Major Forsythe, although supported by the other troops as promptly as possible, was obliged to sustain alone a sharp conflict with the whole British force for nearly half an hour. As soon as General Pike had effected his landing with about eight hundred men, the British retreated to their works. The main body of the Americans landed and formed at old fort Tarento, and quickly advanced through a thick wood to an open ground near the British works. The first battery was carried by assault, and the columns moved on towards the main works; when the head of the column had arrived within about sixty rods, a tremendous explosion took place from a magazine prepared for that purpose, and killed and wounded one hundred men. General Pike was mortally wounded by a stone which was thrown up by the explosion, and struck him on the breast. He was immediately conveyed on board the commodore's ship, and soon expired. After the confusion which these events necessarily occasioned, the American troops proceeded to the town, and agreed to a capitulation with the commanding officers of the Canadian militia, by which it was stipulated, that all the public property should be delivered to the Americans, the militia surrendered prisoners of war, and private property protected. Immediately after the explosion, General Sheaffe, with the regulars, retreated out of the reach of the American arms. Two hundred and fifty militia, and fifty marines and regulars were included in the

capitulation. The American loss was fourteen killed in battle, and fifty-two by the explosion; twenty-three wounded in battle, and one hundred and eighty by the explosion. One large vessel on the stocks, and a quantity of naval stores were set fire to by the British, and consumed; but more naval stores were taken by the Americans than could be carried away. The public buildings for military use, and the military stores which could not be removed, were destroyed. York was the seat of government for Upper Canada, and the principal depôt for the Niagara frontier, and Detroit. General Sheaffe's baggage and papers were taken. In the government hall a human scalp was found, suspended over the speaker's chair, with the mace and other emblems of power. This building was burned, contrary to the orders of the American general.\*

Having accomplished the object of the expedition at York, the fleet proceeded immediately to Niagara, landed the troops at the fort, and returned to Sackett's Harbour.

*Attack on Sackett's Harbour.* The defenceless situation of this post, after the sailing of the fleet and troops for the head of the lake, did not escape the British military and naval commanders at Kingston. On the 29th of May, the post was attacked by the combined land and naval forces under Sir George Prevost, and Sir James Yeo. General Brown, of the New-York militia, had been requested by General Dearborn, previously to his leaving the harbour, to take command at this post. He arrived on the 28th; and on the same day Lieutenant Chauncey, in one of the look-out schooners, came in from the lake, and gave notice of the approach of the enemy from Kingston. Alarm guns were immediately fired from the posts, to give notice and bring in the militia. Expecting a landing at the peninsula called Horse Island, Colonel Mills, with the militia and Albany volunteers, formed the first line to receive the enemy at the water-edge. They were

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\* General Dearborn's letter to the secretary of war.

ordered to lie under cover, and reserve their fire until the enemy had approached so near, that every shot might take effect. The regulars, under Colonel Backus, formed the second line; the defence of fort Tompkins was intrusted to the regular artillerists, and volunteers; and that of Navy Point, and the barracks and stores, to Lieutenant Chauncey, who was ordered in case of defeat, to destroy the public stores, and retire to the south side of the bay. On the 27th, and during the nights of the 28th and 29th, considerable bodies of militia arrived from the adjacent country; these were ordered to the water-side, to unite with the first line under Colonel Mills, whose command now amounted to five hundred. At break of day on the 29th, the enemy's fleet appeared in a line between Horse Island and Stony Point, and in a few minutes thirty-three large boats filled with troops, put off under cover of a heavy fire from the gun-boats. On their approach, the militia rose and fired without orders, and too soon to produce any important effect, and immediately fled. Colonel Mills was slain in attempting to rally them. General Brown succeeded in rallying about one hundred, under the command of Captain M'Nutt, and fell upon the rear of the enemy's left flank. The British advanced through a thick wood to the rear of the village; here they were met by Colonel Backus, with the regulars, and such militia as could be brought up, and a severe conflict ensued. The contest lasted an hour and a half, when the British retreated to their boats, and re-embarked without being molested. Lieutenant Chauncey, being informed that the British had gained possession of the town, agreeable to his orders in such an event, set fire to the store houses and barracks, by which all the naval and military stores, and provisions collected for the service, were consumed. The American loss was twenty-one killed, and one hundred and thirty-five wounded and missing. Colonel Backus was mortally wounded, and died soon after the battle. The British left twenty-nine killed, and twenty-three wounded on the field, and thirty-five prisoners, besides



the killed and wounded in the boats before landing, and what they took from the field on their retreat. Previous to this descent, Commodore Chauncey had returned from York, and deposited at the harbour the avails of that expedition, and gone back to Niagara with reinforcements. From the 23d of April to the 28th of May, this important dépôt, on the preservation of which the military and naval operations of the campaign must essentially depend, was left uncovered. The enemy from Kingston might at any time reach it in a single day, with a superior force, and accomplish its destruction. The loss of these stores was of the more consequence to the Americans, as the distance from Albany was such, that they could not be again seasonably replaced. This loss very much affected the future operations of the campaign, and can only be ascribed to an ambition to gain eclat, by striking at an unguarded point of the enemy's lines, at the expense of the real objects of the war.

While these events were taking place at Sackett's Harbour, operations of some importance were going on at the head of the lake. The main army under General Dearborn, lay at Niagara from the 8th to the 27th of May, when Commodore Chauncey having returned from the harbour with reinforcements, a descent was made upon fort George. On the morning of the 27th, the light troops under Colonel Scott, and Major Forsyth, supported by Colonel Porter's light artillery, and General Lewis's division, crossed the river, and attacked the fort; they were soon followed by Generals Boyd's, Chandler's, and Winder's brigades. Commodore Chauncey had made the most judicious arrangements with his small ships, to silence the enemy's batteries at the point of landing. The descent was warmly contested at the water's edge by the British; but they were soon compelled to give way, and the landing was completed.

*Capture of Fort George.* The American batteries soon succeeded in rendering the fort untenable. The British troops, retiring from the river bank, re-entered the fort, fired a few shot, and then set fire to the magazine and moved off in dif-



ferent directions. Of the British regular troops, ninety were killed, one hundred and sixty wounded, and one hundred taken prisoners. The Americans lost seventeen killed, and sixty-five wounded. On the 28th, the garrison at Erie abandoned that fort, blew up the magazine, and retreated towards the head of the lake, and the Americans took possession the same day. The capture of fort George being accomplished, General Dearborn removed his head-quarters to that post. The British garrisons on the Niagara peninsula retired, concentrated their forces, and made a stand on Burlington heights, near the head of the lake, forty miles west of fort George. Generals Chandler and Winder, with large detachments, went in pursuit of them; and on the 5th of June the advance of the Americans had a skirmish with their outposts, and retired behind Stoney creek. Here they encamped for the night; the light infantry, and part of the rifle corps, formed the right wing; the artillery the centre; the infantry, and the residue of the riflemen, the left; and the cavalry the rear. In this position, the troops, amounting to a thousand men, rested on their arms.

*Battle of Stoney Creek.* At two in the morning, the British appeared in force, drove in the pickets, and attacked the main body. The fire continued without intermission for an hour. The British broke through the centre and gained the rear of the artillery. General Chandler supposing them to be Americans, rode in among them, and while issuing his orders was made prisoner, disarmed, and conveyed to the British rear. General Winder coming up to his support, was made prisoner a few minutes afterwards. After a conflict of an hour in a dark night, when it was impossible to distinguish friends from foes, the Americans retreated behind Forty Mile creek, ten miles in the rear of the battle ground, with the loss of several pieces of artillery. Towards evening of the same day, Sir James arrived with his fleet a mile from shore, abreast of where the Americans were encamped. The troops again lay on their arms during the night expecting another attack.

The next morning they struck their tents, and prepared to retreat. The boats containing their baggage and camp equipage, lay becalmed on the beach. Sir James towed in a large schooner, and opened a galling fire upon them, but the artillery from the shore soon compelled him to retire, and the baggage was re-landed. The Indians now appeared in large bodies on the brow of the mountain, and commenced a firing on the camp; but were soon dispersed by a detachment under Colonel Chrystie. A flag was sent in by the commanding officers of the land and naval forces, demanding a surrender of the army, stating, that surrounded as they were by a fleet in front, the land forces on their flanks, and the Indians in their rear, it was impossible to effect a retreat. The reply was, that the demand was too extravagant to merit an answer. The next morning the baggage and camp equipage was again put on board the boats, and the army commenced their retreat to fort George. The boats were overtaken and attacked by an armed schooner, and twelve of them destroyed. The Canadian militia and Indians hung on, and harassed the flanks and rear of the army until evening, when they arrived at the fort, with the loss of the two commanding generals, and the principal part of their artillery and baggage. The British troops immediately occupied the ground they had left.

On the 23d of June, another expedition, equally injudicious, and more disastrous in its result, was directed by the American general.

*Battle of the Beaver Dams.* Colonel Boerslter was detached from fort George, with 570 men, to the Beaver Dams, on the heights ten miles westerly of Queenston, to attack a party of the British, collected there for the purpose of procuring provisions, and harassing such of the inhabitants as they considered friendly to the United States. But this detachment was unfortunately much inferior to the force they were sent to attack, and no supporting detachment was ordered out to their assistance. At eight o'clock, in the morn-

ing of the second day of their march, when within about two miles of the place of their destination, they fell into an ambuscade; but having succeeded in repulsing the enemy, and gaining a cleared field, they sent to fort George, a distance of fifteen miles, for reinforcements; before any arrived they were again attacked by ■ much superior force, and the whole detachment captured.

*Expedition to Burlington and York.* On the 28th of July, another expedition, under the command of Colonel Scott, against the British post on Burlington heights, embarked on board the fleet at fort George, and proceeded to the head of Burlington bay. On the 31st, they landed on a point which separates the bay from the lake, and reconnoitered the British position; finding it protected on three sides by a creek, and defended in front by heavy batteries, on an eminence out of the reach of guns from the shipping, they did not deem it prudent to make an attack, and immediately re-embarked. On their return they put into York, burnt the barracks and public stores, and brought off one piece of ordnance, and ■ large quantity of flour.

After the destruction of the American naval stores at Sackett's Harbour, Sir James, by extraordinary exertions, and the addition of two new ships, had his fleet in a situation in which he ventured to appear on the lake. On the 7th of August, he appeared before fort George, where Commodore Chauncey lay at anchor with his fleet; the latter immediately went out, and in a gale which happened on the night of the 8th, two of his schooners upset, and all on board except sixteen perished. On the 10th, he had ■ skirmish with Sir James, in which two of his schooners were taken. After a running fight for some hours, both parties seemed willing to avoid a decisive contest, and separated. In this manner terminated the operations of the American forces on lake Ontario, under the direction of General Dearborn. None of the important objects of the campaign had been effected; severe and heavy losses had been sustained, and the only favourable time for a descent on



Montreal had gone by. The general had been most of the time an invalid, and had never appeared to lead his troops in any expedition. Plans of conquest formed at Washington, without adequate information of the condition and strength of the enemy, and intrusted to the execution of feeble and worn out commanders, uniformly proved abortive. Administration had become convinced that Montreal was not to be taken under the auspices of General Dearborn; and General Wilkinson was called from the south to supersede him. On the 6th of July, an order issued from the war department, directing General Dearborn "to retire from the command of his military district, and the troops within the same;" but his rank, pay, and establishment were continued until the end of the war. On his departure from fort George, he received an address from the field officers of his army, expressing in flattering terms their regret at his removal, their confidence in his talents, and their apprehensions that the public interest would essentially suffer by the loss of his services.

*General Wilkinson appointed to the Command of the North.* General Wilkinson arrived at Washington from the south, on the first of August, and having spent several days with the cabinet in arranging the plan of operations in the north, proceeded on his journey, and arrived at Sackett's Harbour on the 20th. The force placed under his command, and destined to act upon Canada, consisted of the right wing of four thousand at Burlington, Vermont, under the command of General Hampton; the centre at Sackett's harbour, and the left under General Boyd, at fort George. The whole regular force, including the reinforcements that soon after arrived, amounted to twelve thousand. In addition to the regular army, the militia of the neighbouring counties might be called in at any time, in such numbers as might be necessary for the defence of the posts, or to augment the regular army. The British forces of every description, opposed to Wilkinson, amounted to about eight thousand; the left at Montreal and



adjacent country eastward ; the centre at Kingston ; and the right on the Niagara frontier.

*Preparations for the Montreal Expedition.* On the 26th of August, General Wilkinson called a council of war, consisting of all his general officers, and the commander of the fleet, at which a descent on Montreal was advised. The general then immediately proceeded to the Niagara, to make arrangements to withdraw the regular troops from that quarter. At a council of war, composed of all the general and field officers at fort George, it was decided, that that post should be abandoned, and the forces withdrawn ; this opinion, however, was afterwards changed, and the defence of fort George and the Niagara frontier intrusted to General M'Clure, and the New-York militia.

To superintend the operations, and ensure success to the expedition, General Armstrong arrived on the 5th of September, and established the war department at Sackett's Harbour. General Wilkinson returned with the main body from fort George on the 4th of October, and established his head-quarters at the harbour. The army from fort George rendezvoused at Grenadier Island, at the outlet of the lake, where they were joined by the troops from the harbour, prepared for an attack on Kingston, or a descent on Montreal, as circumstances should indicate. At a council of war, composed of Generals Wilkinson, Armstrong, Lewis, and Brown, the descent of the St. Lawrence was agreed on. The commanding general afterwards deemed it inexpedient to proceed, leaving so large a force at Kingston in his rear, and strongly remonstrated against the measure ; as large reinforcements had then arrived at Kingston, which would enable the enemy to hang upon the rear of the American troops, and render the expedition hazardous. The secretary of war determined on the descent, and ordered the expedition to proceed. General Hampton, with his army, was ordered immediately to march for the St. Lawrence, and form a junction with the main body. The next place of rendezvous, before the final sailing of the

flotilla was fixed at French creek, eighteen miles in advance of Grenadier Island. General Brown was ordered to proceed to this place with the advance of the army, on the 4th of October. On the 1st and 2d of November, he was attacked by a squadron of the enemy's ships, which were repulsed by Captain M'Pherson's artillery; and obliged to retire.

*Flotilla enter the River.* On the 3d, General Wilkinson, with the rear of the army, arrived at the general rendezvous; and on the 5th the whole flotilla, consisting of three hundred boats, got under weigh, and covered the river for a distance of nearly five miles. On the 6th, the flotilla proceeded to a point within three miles of Prescott, a strong place on the Canadian bank, which commanded the passage of the river. Here the powder, and fixed ammunition, and all the troops, except as many as were necessary to navigate the boats, were debarked, and proceeded by land to a bay two miles below Prescott. The flotilla passed the fortress under cover of the night, without material injury, although assailed by a constant fire from the garrison, and arrived at the place of rendezvous below by ten o'clock the next morning. Here the troops and ammunition were re-embarked.

To obstruct the American flotilla in its descent, the British had strongly fortified Prescott, and established batteries at every commanding point on the river. A large detachment of troops from Kingston followed the course of the flotilla on the bank, and a squadron of small vessels and gun-boats harassed the rear. On the 7th, Colonel M'Comb with an élite corps of twelve hundred men, landed on the Canadian shore to dislodge the British from their posts on the river. On the 8th, the cavalry which had come down by land on the American shore as far as Hamilton, crossed the river; and General Brown, with a large additional detachment, landed to reinforce Colonel M'Comb, and take the command. On the 10th, at the head of the Long Sault, another large body of troops were landed on the Canadian side, under the command of General Boyd, to protect the rear, while General Brown proceeded

forward to drive the British from their positions in front. At once the latter general was engaged with a party of British near a block-house, erected on the Sault to impede the descent. The flotilla hauled in shore to await the issue of General Brown's attack. At this time a galley and several gun-boats from Prescott appeared, and commenced a cannonade on the rear of the flotilla. The slender structure of the boats rendered them incapable of resisting the long twenty-fours of the galley, which threatened their destruction. Two eighteen pounders were immediately landed and formed a battery on shore, which opened upon the galley and gun-boats, and compelled them to retire. The commanding general now received advice from General Brown, that he had succeeded in dislodging the British from their posts on the river, and had arrived at the foot of the Sault.

*Battle of Williamsburgh.* On the 11th, while the flotilla were preparing to enter the rapids, the British appeared in force near Williamsburgh, in the rear of General Boyd. An attack was made by Swartwout's brigade on the British advanced guard, who were driven back to the main body. Swartwout was now joined by Covington, and the action became general. The British had judiciously chosen their ground among the deep ravines which intersected an extensive plain, and discharged a heavy and galling fire on the advancing columns of the Americans. At this time a detachment under Colonel Cowles from the first brigade entered the field, and being directed to attack the British left flank, bravely and promptly executed the order. The brigade first engaged had now expended their ammunition, and were ordered to retire; this so disconcerted the line as to render it necessary that the whole should fall back. The infantry retired to their boats in good order, and re-embarked; the cavalry, with five pieces of artillery, proceeded down the river on the Canadian shore without further molestation. General Covington received a mortal wound in the body while leading his men to the charge, and fell on the field. The American loss was



one hundred and two killed, and one hundred and thirty-seven wounded. Sixteen hundred Americans, and about an equal number of British were engaged. The victory was claimed by both the combatants; the British, on the ground that they had compelled the Americans to retreat and re-embark with the loss of a part of their artillery. General Wilkinson claimed the result to be in favour of his troops, as the British were prevented from any further annoyance of the expedition. On the 12th, the flotilla passed the Long Sault without injury, and joined General Brown, at Barnhart's, near Cornwall. General Wilkinson now considered the most difficult part of the expedition accomplished, and waited in momentary expectation of hearing of General Hampton's arrival on the St. Lawrence, when with their united forces they should proceed to accomplish the great object of the campaign. On entering Canada on the 6th of November, the commanding general, according to custom, had issued a proclamation, addressed to its inhabitants, informing them that the army of the United States which he had the honour to command, invaded their provinces to conquer, and not to destroy; to subdue the forces of his Britannic Majesty, not to war against his unoffending subjects; that those who quietly remained at home, should be protected in their persons and property, but those found in arms must necessarily be treated as enemies. To menace, the general remarked, was unjust; to seduce, dishonourable; but it was both just and humane to place these alternatives before them!

*Correspondence between Wilkinson and Hampton.* On the same day General Wilkinson wrote to General Hampton, informing him that he was then in the river, should pass Prescott that evening, proceed immediately to the Isle Perrot, bridge the narrow inner channel between that island and Montreal with his scows, and obtain a foot-hold on the island twenty-five miles above the city, after which his artillery and bayonets must secure a triumph or provide honourable graves. After giving him this information, he ordered him to form an



immediate junction with his whole force. On the 12th an express arrived from General Hampton, stating that on receiving his communication of the 6th, he was deeply impressed with the responsibility of deciding on the means of co-operation; that the idea of effecting a junction at St. Regis, was the most pleasing, as being the most immediate, until he came to the disclosure of the state of General Wilkinson's provisions; his communication further stated that his own men had not more with them than they could carry on their backs; that the road was in many places blockaded, and abated, and impassible for wheel carriages in the winter; that the enemy had destroyed every thing in his advance which could contribute to the support of the army; that his troops were raw, sickly, and dispirited, and had endured fatigues equal to a winter's campaign; that in forming the proposed junction under such circumstances, he should weaken rather than strengthen the main body. He had therefore determined to fall back on his main depôt at Plattsburgh, keep open a communication with the St. Lawrence, and in this way contribute to the success of the main object.

*Expedition abandoned.* However sanguine the expectations of the secretary at war and the commander in chief might have been as to the success of this expedition, the conduct of General Hampton entirely frustrated them. Unsupported by this division, General Wilkinson deemed it imprudent to proceed further; on the receipt of this communication he called a council of his general and field officers, and in pursuance of their advice, abandoned the expedition. On the 13th, the troops under General Brown embarked from the Canadian shore, and the whole army went into cantonements at French Mills, on Salmon river, on the right bank of the St. Lawrence.

*General Hampton's Division.* The army under General Hampton, and a large depôt of provisions and military stores had been collected at Plattsburgh, for the express purpose of co-operating upon Montreal. On the 19th of September,

the army was put in motion with a view to approach the banks of the St. Lawrence. The route first attempted was by way of Champlain to Coghawaga on the St. Lawrence. For this purpose the army embarked on board batteaux, preceded by a corps of light infantry, and flanked on the right by the squadron on the lake, and advanced as far as Champlain. Here they landed and marched to Odletown, where they learned that the drought was such, that no water could be obtained on that route; and the army, in consequence thereof, was obliged to return to Chazy, and take the route by Chateaugay. On the 25th of September, the army encamped thirty miles in advance of Plattsburgh, and about the same distance from the St. Lawrence, on the Chateaugay river, which communicates with the St. Lawrence near Montreal, and remained on this ground until the 21st of October.

From his head-quarters at this place on the 4th of October, the general writes to the secretary at war, that the road between him and Plattsburgh was a perfect turnpike, that he had and could have, an unlimited supply of good beef cattle, and that the quartermaster general would arrive in the course of three or four days, with a supply of flour and ammunition. On the morning of the 21st of October, the army commenced a movement down the Chateaugay. An extensive wood of ten or twelve miles in front, blocked up with felled timber, and covered by the Indians and British light troops, impeded the progress of the army. General Izard was detached with the light troops and one regiment of the line to turn these impediments in flank, and seize on the open country below, while the army, preceded by a working party, advanced in a more circuitous, but practicable route; the measure succeeded, and the main body reached the advanced position on the Chateaugay on the evening of the 22d. The 23d and 24th were employed in getting up the artillery and stores. There was now in front of the army seven miles of open country, at the end of which commenced a wood of some miles in extent, which had been formed into an entire abattis, filled

with a succession of wooden breastworks, the rearmost of which, was supplied with ordnance. The Indians and light troops were placed in front, and a heavy force in the rear. On the evening of the 25th, Colonel Purdy, with the light troops, was detached to gain the rear of this position, while General Izard made a simultaneous attack in front. Colonel Purdy was misled by his guides, the attempt failed, and the advanced corps retired with the loss of fifty killed, wounded, and missing, to a position three miles in the rear. On the 28th, General Hampton, under an impression that Sir George Prevost might be in the way of his further advance, fell back to his former position at the Chateaugay four corners. On the 8th November, he despatched Colonel Atkinson to General Wilkinson, informing him that he should not attempt the proposed junction, and immediately conducted his army back to Plattsburgh, for winter-quarters.

*Vermont Militia.* To guard Plattsburgh while General Hampton was performing these operations, the third brigade of Vermont militia had been ordered by the secretary at war to that point, and placed under the command of an officer of the United States. This order was executed without the intervention of the captain general of the Vermont militia. Governor Chittenden, viewing this as a violation of his constitutional rights over the militia, on the 10th of November issued a proclamation declaring the proceeding illegal, and ordering the militia immediately to return and hold themselves in readiness for the defence of the state, subject to his orders. General Davis, who was despatched to Plattsburgh with the governor's orders, was arrested by the commandant, held for some time as a prisoner, and prevented from executing his commission. On the 15th of November, twenty-two of the officers of the brigade published an address to the governor in answer to his proclamation, declaring it to be illegal, and manifesting their determination to disregard it. The brigade remained on duty at Plattsburgh until the return of General Hampton rendered their further services unnecessary.



On mustering General Wilkinson's army at the French Mills, on the 1st of December, its effectives amounted to eight thousand; General Hampton's to four thousand. The British forces at Montreal, Prescott, and Kingston, did not exceed six thousand. General Wilkinson states, that on the 4th of November, when he was within six days' march of the city, the garrison at Montreal did not exceed six hundred men; but this doubtless was greatly underrating their force.

General Hampton, having placed his army in winter-quarters and at Plattsburgh, and furloughed most of his effective officers, retired to the south. At New-York he accidentally met General Harrison at the same hotel, on his way from the north to the seat of government. General Hampton, with his servants and suite, appeared in the style and character of a nobleman. The hero of the west was in a plain republican style, with a single servant, and not distinguished in his appearance from the other guests. As soon as General Harrison's arrival was known, the citizens assembled and made an elegant entertainment on the succeeding day, at which, he received the compliments and respects due to his achievements. General Hampton and his suite remained in the city, and at the same hotel, unnoticed and uninvited. Public sentiment readily distinguished between the conquering hero, and the general who by his inactivity and disobedience of orders, had defeated an important expedition. The same marked distinction between the two generals took place at Philadelphia and Washington.

No event could have more disappointed the public expectation, than the abandonment of the Montreal expedition. The regular troops had been withdrawn from the sea-board, and the Niagara frontier left uncovered, while the whole energies of the campaign were concentrated in this object. To ensure success, General Wilkinson had been called from an important command in the south to supersede General Dearborn in the chief command. Generals Lewis, Hampton, Boyd, Brown, Izard, Covington, and Swartwout, were all



engaged to gather laurels in this field. Every exertion had been made to place the navy on the lake in a situation to command its navigation and further the operations of the army ; large vessels had been built from the keel, equipped, and put into service in a few weeks ; and three hundred transport boats had been prepared for the descent of the St. Lawrence, and on the 6th of November the entrance of that river was covered for the distance of five miles with this formidable flotilla. The war department had been removed from the seat of government to Sackett's Harbour, that this important expedition might be under the immediate direction of the executive. From the speeches in congress of the preceding winter, on the subject of the Canadian conquest, and from the great preparations which had been making through the season, all doubts respecting the final result had been removed ; and in proportion as the public expectation had been raised by these preparations, in the same proportion was the disappointment when this formidable armament was seen to proceed within two days' march of its object, and then abandon it without an effort. The principal agents endeavoured to throw the blame on each other ; public opinion determined that they must share it between them, and in this manner greatly lightened its burthen. Several of them, however, lost the public confidence, and were soon afterwards excused from further service.

*Causes of the failure of the Montreal Expedition.* Among others of less consequence the following may be assigned as the principal causes of the failure. Early in the season, under the administration of General Dearborn, the public stores at Sackett's Harbour, the sinews of the campaign, were injudiciously exposed and lost, and the only opportune season for the expedition wasted in useless and inefficient operations on the Niagara frontier. From the 20th of August, the period when General Wilkinson assumed the command, seventy-six days were suffered to elapse before the final sailing of the flotilla. This delay, as it enabled the

enemy to strengthen their posts on the river, and prepare for defence, and as it rendered the descent of the St. Lawrence at so late a period difficult, very much hazarded the success of the enterprise. Changing the commander in chief at a critical period of the campaign, without acquiring any additional talents, had an unfavourable influence upon its result. The establishment of the war department at Sackett's Harbour, a measure in itself unusual, and very questionable as to its legality, was attended with no beneficial consequences to the expedition. The appropriate duties of that office are, to receive from the supreme executive his orders, which, in affairs of importance, proceed from the united wisdom of the cabinet, and transmit them for execution to the commanding generals. His office gives the secretary no command in the army. In the present case, the important and hazardous measure of proceeding against Montreal, leaving the strongly fortified posts of the enemy at Kingston and Prescott in the rear, was taken in pursuance of his advice, without the aid of the President or the cabinet, and contrary to the opinion of the commander in chief. No justifiable or even palliative excuse has ever been rendered for General Hampton's refusing to join the expedition on the St. Lawrence. In a country abounding with provisions and the means of transportation, there could be no difficulty in effecting a movement of sixty miles in the course of the autumn. His fears of meeting Sir George Prevost in his march were probably groundless, and if the enemy had come out in force to attack him from Montreal, it would of course have left that city unguarded, and ensured the success of the ultimate object. From this combination of injudicious and inefficient measures, the campaign of 1813 closed without effecting the capture of Montreal.

*Defenceless situation of Fort George.* Previous to General Wilkinson's leaving fort George, General M'Clure had been ordered in with the New-York militia for the defence of the Niagara frontier. The British were then in considerable force in the neighbourhood. General M'Clure strongly urged the expe-

diency of a joint attack by the militia and regular forces, before the latter proceeded on the Montreal expedition. Success was considered as certain. The frontier would then be safe, and the fears of the neighbouring inhabitants quieted. In the opinion of General Wilkinson, the advanced state of the season did not admit of the delay necessary for that object. He left fort George on the 2d of October, with all the United States troops, except eight hundred under the command of Colonel Scott, and with orders for these to follow as soon as the safety of that frontier would admit. On the 12th of October, the British troops near fort George commenced a retrograde movement towards the head of the lake, and established themselves at Burlington heights; General M'Clure with the militia, commenced a pursuit: on the 2d day of his march, he received an express from Colonel Scott, informing him that he should immediately leave fort George for Sackett's Harbour; this intelligence obliged him to relinquish the pursuit, and return for the defence of the fort. General M'Clure's force at this time, consisted of one thousand militia engaged until the 9th of December, and two hundred and fifty Indians. The general used every exertion to strike a blow at the enemy before the term of service of his militia should expire. On the first of November, General Harrison arrived at fort George, with M'Arthur's brigade from the west. Immediately on receiving intelligence of Proctor's defeat, the secretary at war ordered General Harrison, with all his disposable force, to proceed to Sackett's Harbour, to join in the grand expedition. On his arrival at fort George, General M'Clure used every exertion to accomplish an expedition against the British at Burlington, during the stay of this brigade at the fort. But General Harrison's orders were peremptory; Chauncey was in the river waiting for him, and the lateness of the season admitted of no delay.

*Evacuation.* The troops from the west embarked on the 16th of November, and again left the Niagara frontier to the defence of the militia. Their terms of service were now



nearly expiring, and the British were in the neighbourhood waiting for that event to make an attack. Every inducement was held out to the militia to prolong their term of service, until others should arrive. Appeals to their patriotism and humanity were made, from a view of the exposed situation of the frontier; and to their interest, from the offer of a bounty and an increase of wages. But these appeals were made in vain; scarcely a man renewed his engagements; the new drafts had not yet arrived; and on the 10th of December, General M'Clure found himself at fort George with only sixty effective men, in view of a much superior enemy, perfectly acquainted with his weakness. No alternative presented, but the immediate evacuation of the fort.

*Burning of Newark.* On the 10th of December, the valuable stores were transported across the river to fort Niagara, fort George blown up, and the adjacent village of Newark burned. This last act was considered as an unnecessary and wanton piece of cruelty. General M'Clure justified himself under the following order from the war department, during its establishment at Sackett's Harbour.

“WAR DEPARTMENT, October 4, 1813.

“SIR,

“Understanding that the defence of the post committed to your charge may render it proper to destroy the town of Newark, you are hereby directed to apprise the inhabitants of this circumstance, and invite them to remove themselves and their effects to some place of greater safety.

“JOHN ARMSTRONG,

“BRIGADIER GENERAL M'CLURE,  
“or officer commanding at fort George.” }

No event more disreputable to the American cause, or more injurious in its consequences, could have happened. Five hundred innocent and peaceful inhabitants were in a moment rendered houseless, and compelled, in the midst of a Canadian winter, to seek a shelter and subsistence from the charity



of their friends. Wherever these unhappy sufferers wandered, the eye dropt a tear of pity over their misfortunes, and the countenance lightened with the fire of revenge against the authors of their calamity. Whatever friends or advocates the cause of the United States might have had in Canada before this event, it had none afterwards. The only ground of justification ever assumed, was that it was a necessary measure of defence, to prevent the British army from finding a shelter during the winter, on the borders of the river, whence they might annoy the inhabitants on the right bank. But this object could not be obtained as long as Queenston and the settlements above were suffered to remain. This measure induced a most heavy and calamitous retaliation, and was made use of by the British to justify all their wanton acts of cruelty, during the war, whether before or after the event. Much altercation took place upon the question, who should bear the odium of this transaction. The secretary of state, unacquainted with the transactions of the war department, during its absence from the seat of government, disavowed the act to the British authorities, and declared it to be an unauthorized measure of the commanding general. M'Clure considered himself as fully justified by Armstrong's letter, while the latter claimed, that the letter was only a conditional authority, and that the case in which it was to be exercised had not occurred. It is evident from the letter, that the scheme of burning Newark originated with the war department; and it cannot be denied, that an authority issuing from that source to the commanding general. on a particular station, and by him executed, cannot be disavowed to the enemy; they have a right to consider it as the act of the government, although, as in this case, it was unknown to the President until after the event. The letter likewise proves that it was discretionary with General M'Clure to do it, or not, as his judgment should direct; the facts clearly show, that no good, but much evil and dishonour resulted to the United States from the transaction; and that it was an injudicious

exercise of a discretionary authority, improperly given by the war department, during its unfortunate excursion to Sackett's Harbour.

*Capture of Fort Niagara.* General M'Clure on the 10th of December, passed over to Niagara, gave the necessary instructions for the defence of that post, and retired to Buffalo. On the 18th he issued an address to the neighbouring inhabitants, calling upon them to assemble for the defence of fort Niagara, and stating that he had received information that it would be attacked the next day. The general remained at Buffalo; and the inhabitants seeing no example set them by the author of the address, remained at home. The garrison at Niagara consisted of 370 regulars, under the command of Captain Leonard. At three o'clock in the morning of the 19th the British and Indians, after several days' preparation in view of the Americans, crossed the river at the Five Miles Meadows, to the amount of twelve hundred; and a detachment, under Colonel Murray, proceeded to attack the fort.

Notwithstanding appearances had for some days past clearly indicated the object of attack, the commanding general was at Buffalo, secure in his quarters, thirty miles from the scene of action, the immediate command of the fort being left in charge of a man wholly incompetent, who at this critical moment, had gone to his residence three miles in the rear, the gates of the fort left open, and unguarded, and the garrison wholly unprepared; the result was as might be expected, the garrison was completely surprised; sixty-five killed, many of them after they had surrendered, and the residue made prisoners; twenty-seven pieces of ordnance, and large quantities of ammunition and military stores, taken.

*Desolation of the Niagara Frontier.* At the same time another detachment of the British proceeded to Lewistown, which was taken without opposition, and the inhabitants put to flight. The Indians now plundered, burned, and massacred without restraint. The towns of Niagara and Lewistown, and the village of friendly Indians

at Tuscarora, were laid in ashes. Governor Tompkins, on being informed of the removal of the regular troops from the Niagara frontier, on the 27th of November, gave orders for the assembling of sufficient bodies of militia to supply the places of those under General M'Clure. But owing to the delays incident to such operations, they failed of arriving until after the capture of Niagara, and the destruction of the frontier below the falls. On the 26th of December, General Hall, commanding the western division of militia, had assembled at Buffalo and Black-Rock, two thousand of his division. On the night of the 29th, at 12 o'clock, the enemy were discovered approaching the American shore, near those places in great force. The militia were ordered out to oppose their landing, but the main body fled at the approach of the enemy, without firing a gun. Colonel Blackesley's regiment, with other detached corps, amounting in the whole to six hundred, regularly formed in line, and commenced a destructive fire on the enemy, as they approached the shore. They continued the contest until their associates had all fled, and further opposition appeared useless. The flourishing villages of Black Rock and Buffalo, and the neighbouring settlements were deserted, and fell a prey to the British and Indians. General Hall retired with the remains of his dispersed militia, to Eleven Mile creek, where he was able to collect only about three hundred; with these he preserved a show of resistance, to cover the flying inhabitants, and check the advances of the enemy. All the flourishing villages and settlements on the Niagara, between the lakes, and to a considerable distance in the rear were laid in ashes; the Indians were let loose upon the flying inhabitants, and hundreds of them were overtaken and massacred. The frontier presented one scene of universal desolation.\* The miserable inhabitants who escaped the Indian tomahawk, fled to the interior, without shelter or means of support, in the depth of winter, and subsisted on

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\* General Hall's letter to Governor Tompkins, January 6, 1814.

the charity of their friends. More than two hundred houses, with an immense value of property, were pillaged and destroyed, and the wretched inhabitants and owners reduced to poverty. General Hall retired to Batavia, fifty miles in the rear of Niagara, where he was enabled to collect eighteen hundred militia for the protection of the public stores, and the defence of those settlements which had escaped desolation.

*Prevost's Proclamation.* At length even the humanity of Governor Prevost began to relent, and on the 12th of January 1814, he issued a proclamation, stating, "That it will hardly be credited by those who shall hereafter read it in the page of history, that in the enlightened era of the 19th century, and in the inclemency of a Canadian winter, the troops of a nation, calling itself civilized and Christian, had wantonly, and without a shadow of a pretext, forced four hundred women and children to quit their dwellings, and to be the mournful spectators of the conflagration of all that belonged to them. Yet such was the fate of Newark, on the 10th of December, a day which the inhabitants of Upper Canada can never forget, and the recollection of which cannot but nerve their arms, when opposed to their vindictive foe. On the night of that day, the American troops, under Brigadier General M'Clure, being about to evacuate fort George, which they could no longer retain, by an act of inhumanity disgraceful to themselves, and to the nation to which they belong, set fire to upwards of one hundred and fifty houses, composing the beautiful village of Newark, and burning them to the ground, leaving without covering or shelter, those innocent, unfortunate, and distressed inhabitants, whom that officer by his proclamation had engaged to protect. His Excellency would have ill-consulted the honour of his country, and the justice due to his Majesty's injured and insulted subjects, had he permitted an act of such needless cruelty to pass unpunished, or had he failed to visit whenever the opportunity arrived, upon the inhabitants of the neighbouring American frontier, the calamities thus inflicted on their own. The opportunity



has occurred, and a full measure of retaliation has taken place ; such as it is hoped will teach the enemy to respect in future the laws of war, and recall him to a sense of what is due to himself, as well as to us. In the further prosecution of the contest to which so extraordinary a character has been given, his Excellency must be guided by the course of conduct which the enemy shall hereafter pursue. Lamenting the necessity imposed upon him, of retaliating upon the subjects of America the miseries inflicted on the inhabitants of Newark, it is not his intention to pursue further a system of warfare so revolting to his own feelings, and so little congenial to the British character, unless the future measures of the enemy should compel him to resort to it. To those possessions of the enemy along the whole line of frontier which have hitherto remained undisturbed, and which are now at the mercy of the troops under his command, his Excellency has determined to extend the same forbearance, and the same freedom from rapine and plunder which they have hitherto experienced ; and from this determination, the future conduct of the American government shall alone induce him to depart."

The scene of conflagration here terminated ; neither party seemed disposed to renew a course of warfare which tended only to the destruction of unoffending individuals. The burning of Newark, it was readily foreseen, would induce such a system of retaliation as has been described, and expose the unprotected American frontier to destruction. It excited a high degree of indignation against the commanding general. He apprehended himself to have been shot at several times at Buffalo, and retired to Batavia to avoid the resentment of the frontier inhabitants.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Presidential Election.—Inaugural Address.—Meeting of the 13th Congress.—Message.—Treasury Report.—Report of Committee of Ways and Means.—Direct Taxes and Internal Duties.—Mr. Webster's Resolutions on the suppression of the French Decree of 28th of April, 1811; Report of the Secretary of State thereon.—Report of the Committee of Foreign Relations.—Massachusetts' Remonstrance against the War.—British Licenses prohibited.—Report of the Committee on British Outrages.—Retaliation.—British Claim of Natural Allegiance.—American Claim.—Proceedings with Prisoners.—Report of the Secretary of State on Allegiance.—Second Session of the 13th Congress.—Message.—Confidential Communication, recommending an Embargo.—Report of Committee of Foreign Relations.—Embargo laid.—Message, and Report thereon, recommending the Repeal of the Embargo.—Treasury Report.—Expenditures for 1813.—Estimates for 1814.—Bounty increased.—Steam Frigate built.—Loan Bill passed.—Close of the Session.

*Presidential Election, March 4th, 1813.* The meeting of electors of President and Vice-President for the presidential term commencing the 4th of March, 1813, was held in the several states agreeably to law, on the 1st Wednesday of December, 1812. De Witt Clinton, of New-York, was the candidate opposed to Mr. Madison; and was selected by the peace party, on the ground of his being opposed to the war. Mr. Madison united the votes of Vermont, New-Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and all the states south and west of Maryland. On the 10th of February, the two houses of Congress met in convention, and counted the votes; when the result appeared to be one hundred and twenty-eight for Mr. Madison, and eighty-nine for Mr. Clinton. For Vice-President, one hundred and thirty-one for Mr. Gerry, and eighty-six for Mr. Ingersoll. On the 4th of March, Mr. Madison was inducted into office with the usual ceremonies, when he delivered a speech to the citizens assembled on the occasion, in justifica-

tion of the commencement, and continuance of the war ; contrasting the humane manner in which it had been carried on by the United States, with the barbarities of the British and their Indian allies ; at the same time assuring his fellow-citizens, that the spirit and resources of the country were amply sufficient to bring it to an honourable issue.

*Meeting of Congress, May 24th, 1813.* In pursuance of a law of the last session, the 13th Congress convened on the 24th of May. In the choice of a speaker, the votes were for Mr. Clay, eighty-nine ; for Mr. Pitkin, the peace candidate, fifty-four.

*Message.* On the 25th, the President's message was communicated, stating that he had recently received a communication from the emperor of Russia, offering his mediation, as the common friend of the United States and Great Britain, for the purpose of making peace between them. That this offer was immediately accepted on the part of the United States, and three envoys appointed, and commissioned with the requisite powers to conclude a treaty of peace with persons clothed with like powers on the part of Great Britain ; and that the two envoys who were in the United States at the time of their appointment, had proceeded to join their colleague already at St. Petersburg. That the envoys had already received another commission, authorizing them to conclude with the emperor of Russia a treaty of commerce with a view to strengthen the amicable relations, and improve the beneficial intercourse between the two countries. That the sentiments of Great Britain towards the emperor were such as would produce an acceptance of the mediation, might fairly be presumed. That no adequate motives could exist for her to prefer a continuance of the war to the terms on which the United States were willing to close it. The message further remarked, that the British cabinet must be sensible, that with respect to the important question of impressment on which the war so essentially turns, a search for, or seizure of British persons or property on board neutral vessels on the

high seas, is not a belligerent right derived from the law of nations; and that no visit, search, or use of force for any purpose, on board of vessels of one independent power, can be sanctioned by the laws or authority of another. It is equally obvious, that for the purpose of preserving to each state its sea-faring members, by excluding them from the vessels of the other, a mode heretofore proposed, and now enacted by the United States as a part of their municipal policy, cannot for a moment be compared with the mode practised by Great Britain, without a conviction of its preferences, in as much as the latter leaves the discrimination between the mariners of the two nations, to officers exposed to unavoidable bias, as well as from defect of evidence, to a wrong decision under circumstances precluding redress, and where a wrong decision, besides the irreparable violation of the rights of persons, might frustrate the plans and profits of entire voyages: whereas the mode adopted by the United States guards, with studied fairness and delicacy, against errors in such cases, and avoids the effect of casual errors on the safety of navigation, and the success of mercantile enterprises. If the reasonableness of expectations drawn from these considerations could guarantee their fulfilment, a just peace could not be distant; but it becomes the wisdom of the national legislature to keep in mind the true policy and indispensable obligation of adapting its measures to the principle that the only course to a safe and honourable peace, is the vigorous employment of the resources of war.

*Treasury Estimates.* The principal object of this session was to mature and bring into operation a system of internal duties, and direct taxes, for which there was not time the last. Such an additional revenue was deemed to be necessary, as would, with that already established, pay the ordinary expenses of government, discharge the redeemable portion of the public debt, and pay the interest on the war loans. Mr. Gallatin having been appointed one of the envoys on the Russian mediation, the treasury department was committed to



Mr. Jones, the secretary of the navy. On the second of June, the acting secretary of the treasury presented to the house of representatives a report on the state of the treasury ; from which it appeared that the balance in the treasury, on the 30th of September, 1812, was

2,362,652 69

Receipts at the treasury from that period to the 31st of March 1813, were

15,412,416 25

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 17,775,068 94

The issues from the treasury during the same period were

15,919,334 41

Leaving a balance in the treasury on the 1st of April, 1813, of

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 \$1,855,734 53

The loan of sixteen millions, authorized by the act of the 8th of February, had been negotiated upon such terms, as that the United States had received eighty-eight dollars cash for one hundred dollars of their stock, bearing six per cent. interest. The resources for the residue of the year 1813, were the balance of the loan of sixteen millions not yet received

14,913,262

The customs and sale of public lands estimated at

9,320

Treasury notes authorized to be issued under the act of the 25th of February, 1813

5,000,000

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 29,330,000

The expenses for the same period were estimated to be, for the civil list

900,000

Payment on account of the public debt

10,510,000

War and navy departments

17,820,000

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 29,230,000

The foregoing estimates were calculated to reach the end of the year 1813. The secretary recommends an early and

adequate provision for the service of 1814. He remarks, as reliance must be had upon loans for the future war expenses, the laying of the internal taxes must be considered with a view to that object as indispensable to facilitate the obtaining of the loan, and procuring it upon favourable terms. It had been satisfactorily ascertained, that the terms of the last loan would have been more favourable if the taxes had been previously laid.

It is obvious that by affording a security for the regular payment of the interest, and eventual reimbursement of the principal, more stable and less liable to be weakened, and cut off by the effects of war, than a revenue depending, as that of the United States now almost wholly does, on external commerce, capitalists will advance with the greater readiness, and at a lower rate of interest, the funds necessary for the prosecution of the war. Public confidence will be ensured, and the means afforded of preserving public credit unimpaired. The resources of the country are ample, and if the means now proposed, and those heretofore recommended from this department, are adopted, it is believed they may fully and fairly be brought into action.

The committee of ways and means reported a direct tax of three millions on fixed property; and the same system of internal revenue which had been brought forward, and nearly matured the last session. It embraced duties on distilleries, refined sugars, retailers' licenses, sales at auction, carriages, and negotiable paper, estimated to raise two millions, a duty of twenty cents a bushel on salt, estimated to raise \$400,000, and an additional tonnage duty on foreign vessels, estimated at \$900,000. As this system had been thoroughly canvassed the last session, and the necessity of an additional revenue, was becoming every day more and more apparent, it was adopted, and the necessary laws passed to give it effect, with very little debate or opposition. A further loan of \$7,500,000, was also authorized.

*Mr. Webster's Resolutions.* On the 10th of June, Mr. Webster offered for consideration several resolutions, calling on the executive for information—

When, by whom, and in what manner, the first intelligence was given to the American government of the French decree of the 28th of April, 1811, purporting to be a definitive repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees?

Whether Mr. Russell, the late charge des affaires at the court of France, ever admitted or denied the correctness of the statement of the duke of Bassano, that this decree had been communicated to Mr. Barlow's predecessor?

Whether the French minister at Washington had ever informed the American government of the existence of such a decree?

And whether any explanation had been given by the French government; why the decree had been concealed, together with any other information relative to the subject, not improper to be communicated.

These resolutions formed a principal topic of debate from the 10th to the 21st of June, when the question was taken upon them, and they passed, yeas 137, nays 26.

*Report of the Secretary of State.* On the 13th of July, the secretary of state reported upon the subject of these inquiries. That the first intelligence which the American government received of the decree of the 28th of April, 1811, was communicated in a letter from Mr. Barlow, bearing date the 12th of May, and received the 13th of July, 1812. That the first intimation of the existence of that decree was given to Mr. Barlow by the duke of Bassano, in an informal conversation, sometime between the 1st and 10th of May, 1812, and formally communicated to him on the 10th. That Mr. Barlow transmitted a copy of the decree, and the duke of Bassano's letter of the 12th of May, in which he also informed Mr. Russell, that the duke of Bassano stated to him, that the decree had been duly communicated to Mr. Russell, then charge des affaires at France, at its date.

Mr. Russell replied to Mr. Barlow's letter, stating that the first knowledge he had of the decree, was derived from his letter of the 11th of May. The secretary further stated, that no communication of the decree was ever made to the American government by the French minister, and no explanation given why the decree was not published, and communicated to the American government at its date. The minister of France had been asked to explain the cause of a proceeding so extraordinary, and exceptionable ; to which he replied, that his first intelligence of that decree was received by the Wasp, in a letter from the duke of Bassano, of the 10th of May, 1812 ; in which the duke expressed his surprise, that a prior letter of May 1811, in which he transmitted to him a copy of the decree for the information of the American government, had not been received. The light in which this transaction was viewed by the President, had been noticed by him in his message to Congress, and communicated to Mr. Barlow, in a letter of the 14th of July, with a view to the requisite information from the French government. Before the reception of that letter, the emperor and the duke of Bassano had left Paris for the north. Mr. Barlow died before any explanations had been given ; and his successor, recently appointed, has been instructed to demand the necessary explanation.

After answering the questions proposed by the resolutions, the secretary entered into an elaborate discussion, tending to show that the repeal of the British orders in council was owing to other causes than the repeal of the French decrees, and was not to be ascribed to that of the 28th of April, 1811. That in professedly making that decree the basis of their repeal, the British government had conceded that they ought to have repealed them on the ground of the declaration of the French government of the 5th of August, 1810, so as to take effect on the 1st of the following November ; and by failing so to do, were justly chargeable with all the consequences of the war. That the final repeal of the orders in council was to be



ascribed to the pressure which the restrictive system of the American government brought upon the British nation.\*

Accompanying the report, was the correspondence between the American and French governments, confirming the statements it contained.

The committee of foreign relations, to whom the subject was referred, without adverting to the concealment of the decree by the French government, from the 28th of April, 1811, to the 10th of May, 1812, and the false declaration, that it was communicated to Mr. Russell at its date, remark: That the secretary's report, and the accompanying documents furnish strong additional proof of the justice and necessity of the war, and powerful motives for the steady and vigorous prosecution of it, as the surest means of a safe and honourable peace. That it can now no longer be doubted, that it was the pressure of the restrictive measures, combined with the determination of Congress, to redress their wrongs by arms, and not the repeal of the French decrees, that broke down the British orders in council, and destroyed that dangerous system of monopoly, by which America was, in fact, as to her commerce, re-colonized. Their report concludes with a resolution, declaring that the conduct of the executive, in relation to the subjects referred to, meets the approbation of the house.

*Massachusetts Remonstrance.* On the 19th of June, Mr. Pickering presented a remonstrance from the legislature of Massachusetts, condemning in strong and pointed language the war, as impolitic and unjust. They state that of the two hundred and fifteen millions derived by the United States, under the operation of the federal constitution, Massachusetts had paid more than forty millions, or about one fifth part into the national treasury. That if this sum had been preserved to her, she would have been fully competent to her own defence. That she possesses a sea-coast more extensive and populous than any other state in the union; and an extensive land frontier, now wholly abandoned by the

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\* Report of the secretary of state, July 1813.

government, whose duty it was to protect her. That the policy adopted by the general government, had brought the good people of that commonwealth to the verge of ruin; had annihilated that commerce so essential to her prosperity, increased their burdens while it diminished their means of support; provided for the establishment of an immense standing army, dangerous to their liberties and irreconcilable with the genius of their constitution; destroyed their just and constitutional weight in the general government; and, by involving them in a disastrous war, had placed in the power of the enemy, the control of the fisheries, a treasure of more value to the country than all the territories for which they are contending, and which furnish the only means of subsistence for thousands of her citizens, and the great nursery of her seamen, and the right to which cannot be abandoned by New England.

The remonstrance concludes, by earnestly requesting, that measures may be immediately adopted to stay the sword of the destroyer, and prevent the further effusion of human blood: that the invading armies may be forthwith recalled within our own territories, and that every effort of our rulers may be directed to the attainment of a just and honourable peace: that mutual confidence and commercial prosperity may be again restored to our distracted and suffering country; and that by an upright and faithful administration of the government, in the true spirit of the constitution, its blessings may be equally diffused to every part of the union. The remonstrance was read, ordered to lie on the table, and continued to the next session.

*British Licenses.* For the purpose of procuring a supply of provisions for the British West Indies, and the combined armies in Spain, the naval officers commanding the American stations, had been directed by an order of council soon after the commencement of the war, to grant licenses to merchant vessels of the United States, laden with provisions, and bound to those places. These licenses protected them from

British capture on their outward and return voyages. By means of them, a brisk and lucrative trade was carried on; those places in a great measure relieved from the pressure of the war; supplies obtained for the British army and navy, and British merchandise introduced into the United States. Vessels sailing under these licenses, had been taken by American privateers, brought in and libelled; the prize courts cleared them, on the ground that such trade was not prohibited by law.

Such a commerce was evidently inadmissible. It tended to frustrate some of the principal objects of the war. An act was passed this session, forbidding all persons from obtaining, using or selling such licenses, on penalty of forfeiting twice the value of the vessel and cargo to be protected thereby, and a fine of five thousand dollars. Any vessel found sailing under such license, was to be considered as sailing under the British flag, and liable to be proceeded against as lawful prize.

On application of the owners of privateers, the duties on prize goods were reduced to one third less than what were payable on goods imported in any other manner.

*Report of the Committee on the manner in which the War had been conducted.* In the early part of the session, a committee was appointed upon that part of the President's message which related to the spirit and manner in which the war had been waged by the enemy. On the 31st of July, Mr. Macon, from that committee, reported, that they had collected, and arranged, all the testimony that was in their power to obtain, under the following heads :—

- 1st. Bad treatment of American prisoners.
- 2d. Detention of American prisoners as British subjects, on the plea of nativity in the dominions of Great Britain, or of naturalization.
- 3d. Detention of mariners as prisoners of war, who were in England when the war was declared.

4th. Compulsory service of impressed American seamen on board of British ships of war.

5th. Violation of flags of truce.

6th. Ransom of American prisoners from Indians in the British service.

7th. Pillage, and destruction of private property, on the Chesapeake bay, and in the neighbouring country.

8th. Massacre and burning of American prisoners, surrendered to officers of Great Britain, by Indians in the British service. Abandonment of the remains of Americans, killed in battle, or murdered after the surrender to the British; the pillage and shooting of American citizens, and the burning of their houses, after the surrender to the British, under the guarantee of protection.

9th. Outrages at Hampton.

The evidence under the first head, the committee remark, demonstrates that the British government has adopted rigorous regulations, unfriendly to the comfort, and apparently unnecessary for the safe keeping of American prisoners. It shows also, instances of a departure from the customary rules of war, by the selection and confinement, in close prisons, of particular persons, and the transportation of them for undefined causes, from the ports of the British colonies to the island of Great Britain.

The evidence under the second head, establishes the fact, that however the fact of detaining American citizens or British subjects, may be regarded, as to the principle it involves, that such detentions continue to occur, through the agency of the naval and other commanders of that government; and that however unwilling to allow other nations to naturalize her subjects, Great Britain is disposed to enforce the obligation entered into by subjects naturalized under her laws.

The evidence under the third head shows, that while all other American citizens were permitted to depart within a reasonable time after the declaration of war, all mariners who were in the dominions of Great Britain at that period,



whether they resorted to her ports in time of peace for lawful purposes, or were forced into them, under pretence of illegal commerce, are considered as prisoners of war.

The testimony collected under the fourth head, proves it to be the ordinary practice of the officers of the British armed vessels, to force impressed Americans to serve against their country, by threats, corporal punishment, and the fear of immediate execution.

The evidence under the other heads, embraced the outrages committed in the Chesapeake, and on the river Raisin, and clearly established the facts that have been related, as to those transactions.

The whole testimony, thus collected and arranged, remains on the records of Congress; and the report concludes with a resolution, requesting the President to have collected and presented to Congress during the continuance of the war, evidence of any departure by the enemy, from the ordinary mode of conducting war among civilized nations. The next meeting of Congress was fixed on the first Monday of December, and the session closed on the 2d of August.

*Natural Allegiance.—Queenston Prisoners.* At the commencement of the war, a question arose on the subject of natural allegiance between the belligerents, which had well nigh proved fatal to the lives of all who were so unfortunate as to be made prisoners on either side.

Among the Americans taken at the battle of Queenston, were twenty-three persons whom the British authorities claimed to have been born within their dominions; they selected these, put them in close confinement, and sent them to England to be tried for high treason. On the part of Great Britain, it was claimed, that these persons were British born subjects, taken on British territory, in arms against their sovereign; that every person born within the king's dominions, whether original or colonial, owed a natural, unalienable allegiance to the crown, which no circumstances, times, or places, length of residence in foreign countries, or obliga-

tions contracted there, could dissolve. That this principle was recognised by all civilized nations, and was the universal law of Europe. That however princes might permit their subjects to accept commissions, or engage in foreign service, it was always with the exception that they should not bear arms against their native sovereign, and generally with the condition, that in case their own country should be engaged in war, they should return to its defence. That a subject could not, by being naturalized in a foreign country, dissolve his allegiance; and that if, by contracting inconsistent obligations, he had subjected himself to inconveniences and hazards, he must abide the consequences.

*Expatriation.* The American government strongly remonstrated against the proceeding, and claimed that the persons in question were naturalized American citizens, and entitled to the same treatment as other prisoners of war. The ground taken by them was, that every person at his birth owed only a temporary allegiance to the country of his nativity, continuing only during his residence therein. That granting to a subject the liberty of emigrating and settling in other countries, necessarily implied the liberty of changing his allegiance. No person could be under two obligations inconsistent with each other at the same time; one or the other must necessarily be void. When therefore a nation freely permitted its subjects to emigrate, and settle in foreign countries, and received and naturalized foreigners at home, it necessarily implied a liberty to their emigrating subjects to change their allegiance. American citizens on board British ships, and those resident in Canada holding lands under the crown, were required to bear arms against the United States.

The difference between the two nations on this subject, arose in a great measure from the different structure of the governments. Great Britain and other monarchies were originally founded on the feudal principle, that all persons born within their territories were the vassals of the crown; and that the king had an interest, or species of property in

the persons, and a right to the services of his subjects. Upon this principle the European governments claimed and often exercised the right of prohibiting their subjects from leaving the realm, and ordering the return of such as had gone out. These doctrines were interwoven in their constitutions, and formed a part of their municipal code. While they affected none but the prince and his vassals or subjects, other nations had no ground of complaint, but when they were attempted to be enforced on the territory, or in the ships of another power, it became a manifest invasion of the rights and independence of that nation. The republics of the United States were founded upon the principle of an equality of rights among all the citizens, and a voluntary association for their mutual protection. That a person was not confined to the place of his birth, but was always at liberty to choose his residence in any country : that protection could be afforded only while the citizen remained within the jurisdiction that allegiance and protection were necessarily reciprocal, and co-extensive: that when a person removed out of the limits of his own government, and settled himself in another, protection necessarily ceased and with it the corresponding obligation of service, or allegiance.

*Retaliation.* The remonstrances of the American government proving ineffectual, a system of retaliation was adopted. Twenty-three British prisoners were selected and placed in close confinement, to abide the fate of the Queenston prisoners. Forty-six American officers were then taken and put in close confinement, to abide the fate of the twenty-three British soldiers. Forty-six British officers were then selected and confined for the purposes of retaliation. Sixteen prisoners from American vessels were also selected, and put in close confinement at Halifax, for the purpose of being sent to England for trial, as being British born subjects. The same number of British seamen were taken by the Americans, and held as hostages. Forty-six other American officers were

then taken, and closely confined, to abide the fate of the last forty-six British. A cartel agreed on between General Winder and Colonel Baynes, for the general exchange of prisoners in Canada, was disapproved by the President, because it excepted from its provisions, the forty-six American officers first taken; and no exchange of prisoners could be made.

Under the provision of the constitution which ordains, "that the President shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the union," the President communicated these facts to Congress; and under the same provision, both houses had adopted the practice of requesting of the President information of any facts relating to the subjects of their deliberation. On this occasion the senate extended the inquiry as to what the law of nations was upon the point of natural allegiance; and passed a resolution requesting "the President to cause to be laid before them such information as he may possess of the cases, with their circumstances, in which any civilized nation had punished its native subjects taken in arms against her, and for which punishment retaliation had been inflicted by the nation in whose service they had been taken."

It was obvious that whatever information was to be had upon this subject, must be gained from books of history, and treatises upon the law of nations, contained in the library of Congress, and equally in the power of the senate as of the President, and the constitution had no where made it the duty of the executive, to instruct the legislature in principles of general law. The secretary of state, to whom the resolution of the senate was referred, remarks, that by it information is demanded of the conduct of Great Britain and other powers in past times, without limitation in the retrospect, in circumstances bearing upon the question of retaliation; and that these inquiries necessarily involve an extensive research in the history and jurisprudence of the nations of Europe, for which task the other duties of his office had altogether disqualified him. Another difficulty presented itself, not men-



tioned by the secretary; that such a research would have brought into view cases which impugned the principles adopted by the American government. A few of the most prominent, were :

*Precedents.* The case of Doctor Story, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was a native of England, who had long quitted his country, become a subject of Spain, and had been actually received in England as an ambassador of the Spanish government. He was afterwards indicted for treason in England, pleaded the fact of his being a Spanish subject in his justification; his plea was overruled, and he condemned and executed.

The case of Colonel Townley, who was indicted, convicted, and executed, for bearing arms against England, notwithstanding his having been naturalized in France; and no remonstrance or claim of retaliation on the part of the French or Spanish governments in either case.

History also presents the French decree of Trianon, which provides, that no Frenchman can be naturalized abroad without the emperor's consent; and such as are naturalized with consent can at no time bear arms against France.

American history brings to view a law of the state of Virginia, which allows a native citizen, by a formal deed, executed before witnesses, acknowledged in court, and recorded, to quit claim, and renounce his birth-right, and thenceforth be deemed as though he had never been a citizen of the state, necessarily implying that without such process, expatriation was not admissible.

Also a judicial decision of the highest authority in the case of Isaac Williams; who, being a native citizen of the United States, in the year 1792 received a lieutenant's commission, and served on board the *Jupiter*, a French seventy-four gun ship, and in the same year was naturalized in France, agreeably to the forms of law in that country, took the oath of allegiance to the French republic, renouncing expressly, his allegiance to all other countries, particularly to America; had

ever since continued under the government, and for most of the time, had resided in France. In the year 1799, he was indicted, and tried before the circuit court of the United States, holden by Chief Justice Ellsworth, for having, in February 1797, accepted a commission under the French republic, and instructions to commit acts of hostility against Great Britain, contrary to the laws of the United States, and the treaty of peace between them and Great Britain. On these facts, the chief justice decided that the prisoner was a citizen of the United States at the time the acts complained of were done, and that the facts stated afforded no ground of defence. The judge remarks, that all the members of the civil community are bound to each other by compact, which cannot be dissolved by one of the parties by his own act. The compact between the community and its members, is, that the community should protect them, and that they should at all times be obedient to the laws of the community, and faithful in its defence. If an emigrating citizen embarrasses himself with contradictory obligations by naturalization, the fault and folly are his own; this implies no consent of the government, that the citizen should expatriate himself.

*Report of the Secretary of State.* Historical researches presenting these views of the subject, the secretary, after apologizing for not going into them, merely proceeds to remark, that all the nations of Europe naturalize foreigners; all employ in their service the subjects of each other, and frequently against their native countries, even when not naturalized. They all allow their own subjects to emigrate; that although examples may be found of the punishment of their native subjects, taken in arms against them; these examples are few, and have either been marked by peculiar circumstances, taking them out of the contested principle, or have proceeded from the passions or policy of the occasion. Even in prosecutions and convictions, having the latter origin, the final act of punishment has been prevented, with few exceptions, by a sense of equity and humanity, or a dread of

retaliation. It is confidently believed that no instance can be found, in which the alleged purposes of the enemy against the twenty-three persons in question, under the circumstances which belong to their case, even though many of them may not have been regularly naturalized, are countenanced by the proceedings of any European nation. That if no instances occur of retaliation in the few cases requiring it, or in any of them, by the government employing such persons, it has been, it is presumed, because the punishment which has been inflicted by the native country might be accounted for on some principle other than its denial of the right of emigration and naturalization. Had the government employing the persons so punished by their native country retaliated in such cases, it might have incurred the reproach, either of countenancing acknowledged crimes, or of following the example in acts of cruelty, exciting horror, rather than of fulfilling its pledge to innocent persons, in support of rights fairly obtained, and sanctioned by the general opinion and practice of the nations of Europe, ancient and modern.\*

The opinions and reasonings of the secretary appear to have been satisfactory. A bill was introduced, authorizing retaliation in cases where the President deemed it just and necessary; which failed of passing, only on the ground that such powers were already fully contained in the general constitutional powers of the executive to conduct the war.

*Queenston Prisoners released.* This unfortunate controversy was progressing to an alarming extent, the end of which none could foresee, when the American government received intelligence from Mr. Beasley, their commissary of prisoners in England, that there never had been any proceedings against the Queenston prisoners, and that they were restored to the condition of ordinary prisoners of war. This ended the controversy; the hostages were immediately re-

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\* Report of the secretary of state, April 1814,

leased on both sides ; and the general cartel for the exchange of prisoners, ratified and executed.

*Meeting of Congress.* The second session of the 13th Congress, pursuant to the constitution, commenced on the 6th of December.

*Message.* On the 7th, the President's opening message was received, in which he informed Congress, that it was a just expectation, from the respect due to the distinguished sovereign who had invited the belligerent parties to negotiation under his mediation, from the readiness with which it was accepted by the United States, and from a pledge to be found in an act of their legislature of the liberality which their plenipotentiaries would carry into the negotiations, that no time would be lost by the British government, in embracing the experiment for hastening a stop to the effusion of blood. A prompt and cordial acceptance of the mediation was the less to be doubted, as it was of a nature, not to submit rights or pretensions on either side to the decision of an umpire, but merely to afford an opportunity honourable and desirable to both, for discussing, and if possible, adjusting them for their mutual interests. The British cabinet, either mistaking our desire of peace for a dread of their power, or misled by other fallacious calculations, has disappointed these reasonable anticipations. No communication from our envoys having reached us, the President remarks, no information has been received from that source. But it is known that the mediation was declined in the first instance, and there is no evidence, notwithstanding the lapse of time, that a change in the British councils has taken place, or is to be expected. Under such circumstances, a nation, proud of its rights and conscious of its strength, has no choice but an exertion of the latter, in support of the former. To this determination, the best encouragement is derived from the success with which it has pleased the Almighty to bless the American arms, both on the land and waters. An historical view is then presented of the military and naval transactions of



1813, from which the President draws the foregoing inference.

The beneficial effects of the war to the United States is thus described. If the war has increased the interruptions of our commerce, it has at the same time cherished and multiplied our manufactures, so as to render us independent of all other countries for the more essential branches, and is rapidly giving them an extent which will create additional staples for foreign markets. If much treasure has been expended, no inconsiderable portion of it has been applied to objects durable in their nature, and necessary to their permanent safety. If the war has exposed us to increased spoliations on the ocean, and predatory incursions on the land, it has developed the national means of retaliating the former, and of providing protection against the latter; demonstrating to all, that every blow aimed at our maritime independence, is an impulse accelerating the growth of our maritime power. By diffusing through the mass of the nation the elements of military discipline and instruction, by augmenting and distributing warlike preparations applicable to future use, by evincing the zeal and valour with which they will be employed, and the cheerfulness with which every necessary burden will be borne, a greater respect for our rights, and a longer duration of our future peace are promised than could be expected without these proofs of the national character and resources. The war has proved moreover that our free governments, like other free governments, though slow in its early movements, acquires in its progress a force proportioned to its freedom, and that the union of these states, the guardian of the freedom and safety of all and each, is strengthened by every occasion that puts it to the test. In fine the war in all its vicissitudes is illustrating the capacity and destiny of the United States, to be a great, flourishing, and powerful nation.

The beneficial effects of the war, so happily portrayed in the message, in a great measure alleviated the public feelings of regret and disappointment, at the loss of the stores at

Sackett's Harbour, the disasters at Burlington and the Beaver Dams, the abandonment of the Montreal expedition, and the conflagration of the Niagara frontier. It did not, however, preclude Congress from instituting a strict inquiry into the causes of the ill success of the American arms, in the campaign of 1813.

*Embargo.* On the 9th of December, the President sent a confidential communication to Congress, stating that the tendency of the commercial and navigation laws to favour the enemy and prolong the war, is more and more developed by experience. Supplies of the most essential kind, find their way not only to British posts and garrisons at a distance, but their armies in our neighbourhood, with which our own are contending, derive from our ports and outlets a subsistence obtainable with difficulty, if at all, from other sources. Even the fleets and troops infesting our coasts and waters are by like supplies accommodated, and encouraged in their predatory warfare. Abuses having a like tendency, take place in our import trade. British fabrics and products, find their way into our ports, under the name, and from the ports of other countries, and often in British vessels, disguised as neutrals by false colours and papers. To these abuses it may be added, that illegal importations are openly made with advantage to the violaters of the law, by undervaluations, or other circumstances involved in a course of judicial proceedings against them. It is found also, that the practice of ransoming, is a cover for collusive captures, and a channel for intelligence, advantageous to the enemy.

To remedy these evils, the President recommends an embargo, and also a law prohibiting the importation of all articles known to be derived either not at all, or in an immaterial degree, from any other country than Great Britain, from whatever port or place, or in whatever vessels they may be brought; that all persons concerned in collusive captures, or in ransoming their vessels or cargoes from the enemy, be subject to adequate penalties; and an enforcement of the

non-importation laws with increased rigour. The message was committed to the committee of foreign relations ; and on the 10th, Mr. Grundy, from that committee, reported a bill, laying an embargo without limitation. On the 11th, Mr. Oakley, while the house had this bill under consideration, offered two resolutions, requesting the President to lay before the house, the evidence in his possession, of the facts stated in his message of the 9th. The house refused to consider these resolutions, yeas 54, nays 74. Sundry amendments were offered, tending to alter the principal features of the embargo bill, and negatived. The act passed the house of representatives on the 11th of December, yeas 85, nays 57 ; and in the senate, yeas 20, nays 14. The bill prohibited the departure of any vessel from the ports of jurisdiction of the United States, except their public and private armed vessels, and foreign vessels in ballast, or with such cargoes only as they might have on board at the time of passing the act. It also prohibited the putting on board any water craft, or transporting by land carriage, any specie, goods, wares, or merchandise whatever, with intent to transport the same without the United States, on penalty of forfeiting the vessel or carriage, and the lading ; and the President was authorized to employ such portion of the land or naval forces as were necessary to carry into effect the provisions of the law. The effects of this measure which entirely prevented any intercourse by water, between even neighbouring ports of the same state, were felt with peculiar severity by the towns on the eastern sea-board ; many of which depended on small coasting vessels for fuel and other necessary supplies.

Under the second section of this act, the collector of New-York seized a large quantity of specie belonging to the Massachusetts bank, which had been drawn from one of the banks in New-York, and was about being remitted to Boston ; as being ultimately destined for exportation. On a representation to the legislature of Massachusetts, they determined it to

be a flagrant violation of private rights, and requested the governor to make a representation to the President upon the subject. On such representation, the President referred the subject to the secretary of the treasury who ordered the money to be returned to the agents of the bank.

*Embargo raised.* On the 31st of March, the President sent a message to Congress, in which he states that taking into view the mutual interest which the United States, and foreign nations in amity with them have in a liberal commercial intercourse, and the extensive changes favourable thereto which have recently taken place, and the important advantages which may result from adapting the state of our commercial laws to the circumstances now existing; he is induced to recommend the repeal of the embargo and non-importation laws. He recommends also, in aid of domestic manufactures, a continuance of the double duties, for two years after the termination of the war, and a prohibition of the exportation of specie for the same period.

The subject was referred to the committee of foreign relations, who on the 4th of April presented a report to the the house, stating that, previous to the late changes in Europe, the bearing of the restrictive measures was for the most part confined to the enemy. That at present a prospect existed of extended intercourse with friendly powers, highly important to both parties, and which it may be presumed they will find an equal interest and disposition to promote. All Germany, Denmark, and Holland, heretofore under the double restraint of internal regulation, and external blockades, and depredations from a commerce with the United States, appear by late events to be liberated therefrom. That changes equally favourable to the commerce of the United States appear to be taking place, in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the more extreme ports of the Mediterranean. These considerations, together with those of an internal nature, equally forcible, among which are the augmentation of the revenue, maintenance of the public credit, increasing the price, and pro-



moting the circulation of the produce of the country, had induced them to report a bill for the repeal of the embargo and non-importation laws. A large majority of the house received this bill with the highest satisfaction, and passed it on the 7th; yeas 115, nays 37.

*Treasury Report.* On the 8th of January, the secretary of the treasury presented his annual report; stating that the receipts at the treasury for the year ending the 30th of September, 1813, were from the customs, sales of lands, and other small branches of revenue

	\$13,568,042 43
From loans	23,976,912 50
Balance in the treasury	2,362,659 69

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Making an aggregate of	\$39,907,607 62
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That the disbursements from the treasury during the same period have been, for civil list and miscellaneous expenses

\$1,705,916 35
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Payment on account of public debt

6,317,481 15
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War expenses, viz.

Military

18,484,750 49
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Naval

6,420,707 20
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Amounting to

32,928,855 19
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Leaving a balance in the treasury on the 30th of September, 1813, of

6,978,752 43
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The estimates for the year 1814 were,

Civil and miscellaneous

\$1,700,000
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Interest on the debt existing before the war

2,100,000
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Interest on the war loans

2,950,000
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Reimbursements on account of principal

7,150,000
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War expenses, viz.

Military

24,550,000
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Naval

6,900,000
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\$45,350,000
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The ways and means proposed were,

Customs and sales of public land,	\$5,6000,000
Internal revenue and direct tax,	3,500,000
Balance of former loans,	4,720,000
Cash in the treasury unappropriated,	1,180,000
	<hr/>
	\$15,000,000

Remaining to be provided for by new loans \$29,300,000  
for the service of the year 1814.

To obtain this sum, a law was passed authorizing a loan of twenty-five millions, reimbursable in twelve years; and the issue of five millions of treasury notes, bearing an interest of five and two fifths per cent., and payable in one year.

*Recruiting service.* In the progress of the war, the difficulty of raising recruits, and the filling the ranks of the army increased. The regular force calculated upon and authorized to be raised for the service of the year 1813, was sixty-one thousand. The whole number actually in service in February 1813, amounted to only 18,970; in June, to 27,509; in December, to 34,325 and in January 1814, to 33,822. To provide for filling the ranks for the service of they ear 1814, a law was passed early in the session, offering a bounty of one hundred and twenty-four dollars to each soldier who should enlist for five years, or during the continuance of the war; and eight dollars for each man, was given to the recruiting officer, who should procure the enlistment.

*Steam Frigate.* The powers of steam had recently, by the the ingenuity of Robert Fulton been successfully applied to the purposes of navigation. It had been found by experiment that even large vessels might be propelled by this power. Mr. Fulton formed the plan of constructing a steam frigate, adapted to harbour defence. The ship was to be the size of the largest class of frigates, and to be armed with heavy long guns, the sides to be made impenetrable to cannon balls. It was calculated, that this battery, being propelled by steam, could approach any of the largest British ships on the Ameri-

can coast in a calm, and choose her own distance and position. The machinery being under deck, would be safe from the enemy's guns, and the frigate could protect herself from boarders, by inundating the deck with boiling water, while her crew remained under cover. This ship, it was calculated, would either sink or capture the British seventy fours, or expel them from the harbours of the United States. The plan was first submitted to the principal naval officers, who expressed their opinion that such a ship might be rendered more formidable to an enemy, than any kind of engine hitherto invented, and would be equal to the destruction of one or more seventy-fours, or of compelling them to depart from the harbours of the United States; it was therefore their opinion that the best interests of the country required that the plan be carried into immediate execution. The scheme met the approbation of Congress, and five hundred thousand dollars were appropriated to carry it into effect. The building of the ship commenced at New-York, under the direction of Mr. Fulton, early in the season of 1814; the ship was launched about the first of November; the lateness of the period before she could be got in readiness, prevented a trial of her powers that season, and the peace intervening before the next, no opportunity has occurred for the experiment; and she remains as a formidable instrument of defence against any future invasion.

The sanguine friends of this system of defence were ready to lament the termination of the war before a fair experiment could be made. If it should answer their expectations it would be the cheapest and best mode of harbour defence; and in a great measure supersede the necessity of ships of the line for that purpose.

*Debates on the Loan Bill.* In the debate on the loan bill, the speakers took a wide range, and brought into view every subject connected with the causes, commencement, progress, and manner of conducting the war. The opposition contended that, with few exceptions, the progress of the war

had manifested an utter inability in its managers, and had been one continued scene of disaster and defeat: that the ill success of the recruiting service had driven the government to the necessity of offering the most enormous bounties: that these failing, a system of conscription must ultimately be adopted, fatal to the liberties of the citizens.

The majority contended that the war was just in its origin, judiciously conducted, and had been attended with no inconsiderable degree of success: that it had ever been managed upon the most humane and liberal principles, and that the only road to a safe and honourable peace was a vigorous prosecution of the war until the object was obtained. After a discussion of several weeks, in which the arguments on both sides were often repeated, and with little effect, the loan bill, and the other war measures passed both houses of Congress, by majorities of nearly two-thirds. Congress, having passed a law providing that the next session should commence on the last Monday in October, adjourned on the 16th of April.





## CHAPTER XIV.

State of Europe at the commencement of the year 1814.—Its Effects on the American War.—British Plan of the Campaign of 1814.—American System of Defence.—Arrival of the Bordeaux and Mediterranean Squadron and Troops in the Chesapeake.—Landing at Benedict.—March to Washington.—Battle of Bladensburgh.—Capture and Burning of Washington.—Retreat of the British Forces.—Capitulation and plunder of Alexandria.—Causes of the Disasters in the District of Columbia.

*State of Europe.* THE changes which took place in Europe, soon after the commencement of the American war, had an important aspect upon the affairs of the United States. When the war commenced, Bonaparte was on his way to the north, with an army of half a million, to invade the dominions of the emperor of Russia; at the same time he was engaged in a war with England and Spain, in the Spanish peninsula. The greater part of the rest of Europe was subject to his control. The professed object of his war with Russia, was to compel that power to adopt the continental system, and to exclude English productions, and commerce from her ports. In the issue of that contest, England had a deep interest; indeed it was a war upon her, through Russia. In the war in Spain, England was the principal, with the other powers of Europe, who were the allies and dependents of Bonaparte, England was necessarily at war. Under such circumstances, the American war, on the part of Great Britain, was of a defensive character. During the two first campaigns, England detached no greater force from her continental wars, than what she deemed necessary to maintain her possessions in America. At the close of the year 1812, the arms and climate of Russia, had destroyed the French army. Only twenty thousand soldiers, the miserable remnant of the most numerous and best appointed army ever assembled in Europe,

lived to reach France; and those half frozen, famished, broken down, and defeated troops, were fit only to people the hospitals of their country. The European nations which had been held in vassalage by the French emperor, took courage from his misfortunes, and resumed their independence. During the following winter, Bonaparte persuaded the French nation to make one more mighty struggle for universal dominion; and induced them to adopt a most rigid conscription, by which he was enabled to call into service three hundred thousand more of her citizens for the conquest of the north.

In the campaign of 1813, he found Russia, Austria, England, Prussia, Sweden, Spain, and the greater part of Germany, united against him; his army, consisting principally of newly levied conscripts, were unable to contend with the united forces of these powers. In a series of defeats they were driven from the north into their own country; the capital of France taken by the allied powers; and Bonaparte obliged to stipulate for his life, and a small remnant of dominion in the island of Elba. The Bourbons were restored to the thrones of France and Spain, under such restrictions as were calculated to ameliorate the condition of their subjects. At the commencement of the year 1814, Louis the 18th was placed on the French throne. Bonaparte had retired, under the protection of an English frigate to his empire of Elba, and tranquillity was restored to Europe.

*Its Effects on the War.* This state of things gave an entirely new character to the American war. The whole continent of Europe was opened to British productions; and in time of peace there was no pretence, or claim of right, on the part of England, to lay restrictions on American commerce with other powers. She had on her hands more seamen than she had occasion to employ, and had no inducement to seek them on board American ships. There was now no subjects of contention between the belligerent parties, but abstract questions of right, which were not at this period, and might

not ever again be, of any practical importance. Had they been sincerely desirous of peace, there could have been little difficulty in adjusting the terms. During the two campaigns that had passed, neither had gained any territory from the other, or any advantages which would justify their requiring any important sacrifices from their antagonist. Human slaughter and suffering on each side were nearly balanced. Six thousand had been slain in battle on land and water, about the same number incarcerated in prisons, and a number equal to both been mangled with wounds. Four hundred dwelling houses had been burned, and their miserable tenants thrown houseless upon the world. The balance of prisoners taken, and devastations committed on land, was in favour of the British: the destruction and capture of property on the ocean, was much in favour of the Americans. The conquest of Canada had become hopeless; and equally vain was any expectation, on the part of Great Britain, of acquiring any territory from the United States, or compelling them to acknowledge her maritime claims. America wished for peace, but Great Britain had very different objects in view. She had long considered the American settlements in the west, as calculated ultimately to destroy her influence with the Indians; to cut off her profitable fur trade, and to hazard her Canadian possessions; and now rejoiced at an opportunity of arresting their progress. She affected to consider her contest with Bonaparte, as a struggle for the liberties of mankind, and the declaration of war on the part of America, as a league with him for her destruction. She had on hand numerous and well appointed fleets and armies, the officers of which dreaded a peace establishment, and were anxious to distinguish themselves on the theatre of the American war, and retrieve the honour their country had lost in the naval contest of 1812.

*British Plan of the Campaign of 1814.* With these views Great Britain delayed all arrangements for negotiation, and prepared to open the campaign of 1814 upon an extended



scale. Her arrangements were, to send the flower of Lord Wellington's army against the United States; to invade the country from Montreal by the way of Plattsburgh and lake Champlain, and penetrate as far as Albany; to increase her naval force at Kingston, so as to command lake Ontario; to send a powerful reinforcement to the Niagara frontier; to augment her fleets on the American coast, so as to command the navigation, and destroy every thing American that should be found afloat; and with their navy, aided by a powerful land force, attack the most important and assailable points on the sea-board. These objects being accomplished, she could then require of the Americans as the price of peace, an abandonment of their maritime claims, and a sacrifice of a large portion of their western territory to her Indian allies. The British naval force was intrusted to Sir George Cockburn, vice admiral of the red, assisted by admirals Cockburn and Covington. Major General Ross commanded the land forces destined to co-operate with the navy on the coast.

*American Views.* In the month of June, authentic intelligence was received by the American government of the complete success of the allies, and the consequent general pacification in Europe. About the same time intelligence arrived that large reinforcements from the British fleets and armies which had been engaged in the European contest were proceeding to America. This intelligence entirely changed the objects of the American government in relation to the war. All views of the Canadian conquest were laid aside. Instructions were immediately despatched to their envoys in Europe, who had been there patiently waiting for more than a year for the appointment of envoys on the part of the British government, to waive all questions of free trade, sailors' rights, impressment, and blockades, and to make peace, preserving the territory of the United States unimpaired.

*Measures of Defence.* A cabinet council was specially called, to devise measures for the defence of the capital. The district of Columbia, with parts of the adjacent states

was constituted a distinct military district, and its defence intrusted to General Winder, aided by the wisdom of the President, and heads of departments; fifteen thousand of the neighbouring militia were ordered in for the protection of the city of Washington, and a large flotilla of gun-boats, assigned to the Chesapeake, under the command of Commodore Barney, for the protection of the harbours and towns on the bay. A proclamation was issued, convening Congress on the 20th of September. Every effort was made to put the country in a state of defence, to meet the approaching crisis. The large maritime towns, feeling their exposed situation, used their utmost exertions to place themselves in an attitude of defence. At Baltimore, the inhabitants of every party, age, and class, capable of labour, divided themselves into four classes, each of which wrought at the fortifications every fourth day. The citizens of the neighbouring country came in, in considerable numbers, and aided their brethren in constructing works of defence. In Philadelphia, New-York, Boston, Newport, and in all the other considerable towns on the coast, the citizens universally turned out. All able to bear arms, though exempt from military duty, enrolled, organized, and equipped themselves for service. Mr. Clinton, the mayor of New-York, though opposed to the war, in the name of the city authorities, addressed his fellow-citizens in the following persuasive language:

“Fellow-citizens, the city is in danger; we are threatened with invasion: it is the duty of all good citizens to prepare for the crisis: we must arm ourselves to aid the regular forces of the government in a vigorous defence. The questions are not now whether the war was just or unjust, in its commencement; whether the declaration of it was politic or expedient; whether its causes have long ago ceased or not; whether our government might or might not have brought it to a speedy termination; or whether they have done their duty towards us since they involved us in this war. These are solemn questions which will one day be agitated, and which must be

answered hereafter. The present inquiry is, Will we defend our country, our city, our property, and our families? Will we go forth to meet and repel the enemy? We recommend to the whole militia of the city, to keep themselves in complete readiness for service, ready to march at a moment's warning; and to all our citizens, a cheerful proffer of their services to aid by voluntary labour, in the completion of the works of defence necessary for the safety of the city."

This animating address called forth the energies of the citizens. A loan of a million of dollars was subscribed for the immediate wants of the city; and people of every description contributed their labour. On the 4th of September, a respectable number of ladies, among whom were several matrons of distinction, crossed over to Brooklyn, and forming a procession at the ferry, proceeded to fort Greene, accompanied by the music of the Tammany society, their numbers increasing on their march, to about three hundred, and performed a tour of labour on the fortifications.

On the 4th of July, a requisition from the President was made on the states most exposed for a corps of ninety-three thousand five hundred militia, with a request to the executives to hold in readiness for immediate service, their respective detachments and to fix on the places of rendezvous with a view to the most exposed points.

*Arrival of the British Reinforcements at Bermuda.* On the 29th of May, the flower of lord Wellington's army, which had previously been employed in the siege of Bayonne, embarked at Bordeaux, under the command of General Ross, with several ships of the line, frigates, and transports, for the American service. At the same time, another large detachment from the troops in the south of Spain, for the same object, sailed from the Mediterranean. These squadrons arrived at Bermuda, the place of general rendezvous, the last of July. Here they found Admiral Cochrane waiting their arrival, to direct their future naval operations.



*British enter the Chesapeake.* On the 3d of August, the whole of the Bordeaux, and about half the Mediterranean armament, with an additional squadron then at Bermuda, composing a fleet of sixty sail, under Admiral Cochrane, with a land force of six thousand, commanded by Major General Ross, sailed from Bermuda for the Chesapeake, and entered the bay on the 10th of August. The other division of the Mediterranean armament, proceeded to join Sir George Prevost in Canada. The fleet proceeded up the bay to the mouth of the Potomac, when a squadron under Commodore Gordon entered that river, and advanced towards Alexandria. The principal part of the fleet, with the land forces, continued their course to the mouth of the Patuxent, and entered the river on the 18th.

Commodore Barney's flotilla of gun-boats, had previously entered that river and retired as far up as the depth of the water would admit. The British fleet proceeded up the river, and on the 19th commenced landing on the left bank of the Patuxent, at Benedict, forty miles from Washington. On the 20th, the troops commenced their march up the river; on the 21st, reached Nottingham; and on the 22d, Upper Marlborough. Commodore Barney's flotilla had reached Pig Point, two miles above Marlborough, where, finding it impossible to save his gun-boats, or prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, he blew them up, and proceeded to join General Winder.

*British land at Benedict.* The object of the armament under Admiral Cochrane was the destruction of the American navigation, and the plunder and devastation of all the assailable points on the coast.\* This flotilla of gun-boats was the most considerable object in the Chesapeake, and their retreat into the Patuxent, first led the British to that point. After they were destroyed, the admiral and general, learning at Marlborough the defenceless state of Washington, determined on

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\* Admiral Cochrane's letter, August 18th, 1814.



their extraordinary and hazardous visit to that city.\* These unfortunate gun-boats, on which the country once relied for defence, invited the enemy to the neighbourhood of the capital, and occasioned its destruction.

*Assembling of the American Forces.* On the 19th, Colonel Monroe, with Captain Thornton's troop of horse, reconnoitred the enemy at Benedict. On the 20th, the Georgetown, and Washington city militia commenced their march towards Benedict, and encamped about four miles from the eastern branch bridge on the road to Upper Marlborough. On the 21st, the marines from the navy yard, under Colonel Miller, joined the militia and marched to the wood yard, twelve miles from the city. Here they were joined by the regulars of the 36th and 38th regiments, and encamped for the night. Colonels Monroe and Beall joined the army at the wood-yard that night, having returned from reconnoitering the enemy, and reported that there were twenty-seven square rigged vessels at Benedict, and that the enemy's force might be estimated at six thousand. Captain Herbert joined with his troops, and Colonel Laval with two companies of cavalry. Early on the morning of the 22d, a light detachment, consisting of the 36th and 38th regiments, under Colonel Scott, Colonel Laval's cavalry, and three companies under Major Peter, from the brigade of General Smith, were ordered out as an advance guard, to meet and harass the enemy on their march. This detachment proceeded on the road towards Nottingham, while the main body took a position on an elevated piece of ground about a mile in advance of the wood-yard. General Winder with his staff, accompanied by the secretary of state, proceeded to reconnoitre. The dragoons preceding the detachment, met the advance of the enemy, and retired back to the detachment, which then fell back to the main body. Finding the enemy had taken the route by Upper Marlborough, General Winder fell back to the bat-

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\* Narrative of the campaign of 1814, by a British officer.

talion old fields, eight miles from Marlborough, and the same distance from Washington. Late in the evening of the 22d, the President, the secretaries of war and navy, and the attorney general, joined General Winder at the battalion old fields, and remained on the ground until the evening of the 23d, when, from an apprehension of a night attack, it was concluded to abandon that position, and retire to the eastern branch bridge. General Winder's army was mustered and reviewed by the President on the morning of the 23d. It then consisted of four hundred horse, under the command of Colonel Tilghman, four hundred regular troops, under Colonel Scott ; six hundred marines and flotilla men, under Commodore Barney, and Captain Miller, with five pieces of heavy ordnance, and eighteen hundred militia ; forming an aggregate of three thousand two hundred men, with seventeen pieces of artillery. The general staff consisted of the President of the United States, as captain general, the secretaries of state, war, and navy ; the attorney general, and Brigadier General Winder. At Bladensburgh, General Stansbury had arrived from Baltimore on the 22d with his brigade of drafted militia. The 5th regiment, consisting of the élite of the Baltimore city brigade, under Colonel Sterrett, a battalion of riflemen, under Major Pinckney ; and Myers's and Magruder's companies of artillery, with six field-pieces, arrived on the 23d.

On the 18th, General Van Ness, of the Virginia militia, ordered General Young to call out the whole of his brigade, including the Alexandria militia, and to be subject to the orders of General Winder. Two troops of cavalry attached to this brigade, were ordered to rendezvous at Bladensburgh, to accompany the secretary of state, and be subject to his order. On the 22d, General Young, by order of the commanding general, marched his brigade, consisting of four hundred and fifty men, with three brass field pieces, and took a position on a height near the head of Piscataway creek, three miles in the rear of fort Washington. This disposition was intended

to aid in the defence of the fort, and the city of Alexandria, or to join General Winder, as circumstances might require. This brigade remained in this position until the morning of the 24th, when orders were given General Young to march to the eastern branch bridge to support General Winder, which were soon afterwards countermanded, and the general ordered to cross the Potomac, by which means the service of this corps was lost. Colonel Minor, with a regiment of Virginia militia, composed of six hundred infantry, and one hundred cavalry, arrived at Washington on the evening of the 23d, unequipped, and reported himself to the President, who referred him to the secretary at war for orders. The secretary informed him that arms and ammunition could not be obtained from the arsenal that evening, but referred him to Colonel Carbury for supplies the next morning. Colonel Carbury was not to be found, having gone out to his country-seat the preceding evening; and it was not until afternoon of the next day, and not until after the battle, that access could be had to the arsenal for arms for this regiment.

*Position of the Armies on the 23d.* The invading army at Upper Marlborough, on the 23d, did not exceed four thousand five hundred effective men, without cavalry, baggage, wagons, or means of transportation, and with but three pieces of light artillery, drawn by men. The British remained at Upper Marlborough until the afternoon of the 23d, when they commenced their march towards Washington by the way of Bladensburgh. Colonel Scott, and Major Peter, with light detachments, were sent out to meet and harass the enemy, and General Stansbury was ordered to proceed with the troops under his command, on the route direct to Upper Marlborough. Colonel Scott, with his detachment, met the British about six miles in advance of the main body, and after some skirmishing, retreated. The American army at the battalion old fields, were placed in a favourable attitude of defence; they remained in their position until evening, when, apprehending the approach of the enemy, they were

ordered to march to Washington. The British encamped that evening three miles in front of the position which the Americans had left. The retreat of the American troops towards the city was precipitate and disorderly, believing the enemy to be in close pursuit. The secretary of state, passing through Bladensburgh at twelve o'clock at night, advised General Stansbury immediately to fall upon the British rear, as he understood they were in full march to Washington. The general having been ordered by the commander in chief, to take post at Bladensburgh, and a part of his brigade having but just then arrived, was not in a situation to comply with the wishes of the secretary; and the British remaining quietly in their encampment during the night, such a movement would have been fruitless.

*Position of the Americans on the 24th.* The retreating army halted and bivouacked for the night at the eastern branch bridge. Here General Winder, on the morning of the 24th, established his head-quarters with the main body, consisting of three thousand five hundred men, General Stansbury four miles in front at Bladensburgh, with twenty-five hundred; Colonel Minor with seven hundred in the city of Washington; endeavouring to get across to the arsenal, and General Young's brigade of five hundred, twelve miles below, on the left bank of the Potomac; making an aggregate of seven thousand two hundred men. Various reports were brought to head-quarters of the movements and intentions of the British. The President and heads of department assembled at General Winder's head-quarters in the morning of the 24th. The secretary of state, upon hearing a report that the British were marching upon the city by the way of Bladensburgh, proceeded to join General Stansbury, to aid him in forming a line of battle. That General, on the approach of the enemy, retired from his position in advance of Bladensburgh, and occupied the ground west of the village, on the right bank of the eastern branch. Here it was at last resolved



to meet the enemy, and fight the battle that was to decide the fate of the capital.

*Order of Battle.* The front line was formed by General Stansbury and his officers, with the aid of the secretary of state. It consisted of Stansbury's brigade of infantry, Sterrett's regiment, including the command of Major Pinckney, and the Baltimore artillery. At the village is a bridge crossing the eastern branch, from which a turnpike road leads directly to the city. About four hundred yards from this bridge, and a small distance to the left of the road, six pieces of six pounders, of the Baltimore artillery, occupied a temporary breastwork of earth, well calculated to command the bridge. Part of the company of riflemen under Major Pinckney, and one other company, took position on the right of the artillery, partially protected by a fence and brush. On the left of the artillery, leading to a barn in the rear, two companies from the regiment under Colonel Shultz, and the other part of the Baltimore riflemen were posted. Colonel Progan took post in the rear of Major Pinekney, his right resting on the road; Colonel Shultz continuing his line on the left with a small vacancy in the centre of the two regiments. Colonel Sterrett formed the extreme left flank of the infantry. At this moment, Colonels Beall and Hood entered Bladensburgh with two regiments of Maryland militia from Annapolis. They immediately crossed the bridge, and took position on a commanding height on the right of the turnpike, three hundred yards from the road, to secure the right flank. At eleven o'clock, intelligence reached General Winder's head-quarters from the reconnoitering parties, that the British were in full march for Bladensburgh. The whole main body, except a few men left at the eastern branch bridge to destroy it, were immediately put in motion. The march was rapid; the cavalry and mounted men as they arrived, took post on the left flank. The troops from the city were formed as they arrived. Captain Birch, with three pieces of artillery, was stationed on the extreme left of the infantry of the first line,

and a rifle company near this battery to support it. At twelve o'clock, the secretary at war, the President, and the other heads of departments, arrived, and examined and approved the disposition of the troops. They were proceeding at full speed towards the point where the enemy were advancing, when they were stopped by Colonel Simmons, informed of their danger, and immediately returned to the city. This fortunate circumstance prevented the capture of the American President and suite. At this moment the enemy entered Bladensburgh. The officers were rapidly forming the second line. Commodore Barney's flotilla men and marines came up at quick time, and formed on the right of the main road, in a line with the Annapolis militia. The heavy artillery were planted in the road, and three twelve pounders to the right, commanded by Captain Miller. Lieutenant Colonel Kramar, with a battalion of Maryland militia, was posted in a wood in advance of the marines, and of Colonels Beall and Hood's command. The regiment under Colonel Magruder was posted on the left of Commodore Barney, to support his batteries. The regiment under Colonel Brent, and Major Waring's battalion, with some small detachments, formed the left flank of the second line, and were posted in the rear of Major Peter's battery. Lieutenant Colonel Scott, with the regulars, was posted in advance of Colonel Magruder, in a line with Major Peter's battery, but in such a manner as not to mask it; other small detachments were stationed at various points.

*Battle of Bladensburgh.* At half past twelve, before the second line was completely formed, the battle commenced. The Baltimore artillery fired upon, and dispersed the British light troops advancing along the streets of the village. They immediately took shelter behind the buildings and trees, and presented only single objects for the artillery. The British now commenced throwing rockets, and began to concentrate their light troops at the bridge, which the American general had not taken the precaution to destroy. The riflemen and artillery now poured in a destructive fire upon this body, and

cut them down in great numbers as they advanced. The British at length gained the bridge, rapidly passed it, formed, and passed steadily on, flanking to the left, and compelled the riflemen and artillery to give way. Major Pinckney was severely wounded. He exerted himself to rally his men, and succeeded in forming them at a small distance in the rear of his first position, and united with the fifth Baltimore regiment. General Stansbury continued about four hundred yards in the rear of the battery; and left this division to contend with the whole force of the enemy, until it was compelled to retire. The British then occupied the ground they had left, and continued to advance. Colonel Sterrett, with the 5th Baltimore regiment, and Captain Birch with his artillery, were ordered to advance to support the first line. The British soon took advantage of the orchard which had just been occupied by the retreating troops, and kept up a galling fire on the American line. Captain Birch now opened a cross fire with some effect. Colonel Sterrett made a prompt movement in advance, but was ordered to halt. At this time the enemy's rockets assumed a more horizontal direction, and passing near the heads of Colonel Shultz and Pragan's regiments, caused the right wing to give way; which was immediately followed by a general flight of the two regiments.

Birch's artillery and the 5th regiment remained, and continued their fire with effect. The British light troops were, for a short time driven back, but immediately rallied and gained the right flank of the fifth. This regiment, with the artillery, were then ordered to fall back and form a small distance in the rear. But instead of retreating in order, the fifth followed the example of the other two regiments and fled in confusion. The whole of the first line was now completely routed. Various attempts were made to rally, but without success. No movements were made by the cavalry to cover the retreat, though the open and scattered manner in which the pursuit was conducted afforded a fine opportu-

nity for a charge by the cavalry. This line retreated upon a road, which in a short distance forked into three branches, one leading to Montgomery court-house, on the Potomac, fifteen miles above Washington, one to Georgetown, and the other to the capital. General Winder endeavoured to direct the retreating forces to the city, but without success; when they came to the three branches, the greater number took the road to Montgomery court-house, as the place of the greatest safety.

Colonel Kramar, stationed on the right of the road and in advance of Commodore Barney, was next driven from his post and retreated upon the troops of Colonels Beall and Hood, posted on an eminence on the right. After this movement, the British columns in the road were exposed to an animated fire from Major Peter's artillery, which continued until they came in contact with Commodore Barney. Here they sustained the heaviest loss. When they came in full view, and in solid column upon the main road, he opened upon them an eighteen pounder, which completely cleared the road. They made several attempts to rally and advance, but were as often repelled. This induced them to flank off to the right of the American lines to an open field. Here Captain Miller opened upon them with three twelve pounders, with great effect. The British continued flanking to the right and pressed upon Colonels Beall and Hood's command. These troops after firing three or four rounds at such distance as to produce no effect, broke and fled. This exposed the artillery of Barney and Miller, to the whole British force, who soon gained their rear. Both these officers were severely wounded.

*Commodore Barney taken.* Commodore Barney ordered a retreat, but the British being in his rear, he was made prisoner. As he lay wounded by the side of the fence, he beckoned to a British soldier, and directed him to call an officer. General Ross immediately rode up, and, on being informed of his character and situation, ordered his wounds to be dressed and paroled him. The second line was not entirely con-



nected, but posted in advantageous positions in connexion with, and supporting each other. The command of General Smith, including the Georgetown and city militia, and the regulars under Colonel Scott, and some other corps, still remained unbroken.

*Retreat of the American troops.* The British light troops, in the mean time advancing on the left of the road, had gained a line parallel with Smith's command, and were endeavouring to turn his flank. Colonel Brent was placed in a situation calculated to prevent this movement. The British continued their march and came within long shot of Magruder's command, who opened a partial fire upon them. At this moment the whole of the troops were ordered to fall back : after retreating about one hundred rods, they were halted and formed by their officers, when they were again ordered to retreat and form on the heights west of the turnpike gate, and half a mile in front of the capitol. Here Colonel Minor, with his regiment of Virginia militia, having spent the day in the city, endeavouring to get access to the arsenal for supplies for his troops, came up and joined General Smith. While in the act of forming upon these heights, General Winder arrived and ordered the troops to retire to the capitol in expectation of there uniting with the first line ; but these troops, excepting one company of Colonel Laval's cavalry, were not to be found on capitol hill.

*City evacuated.* A conference was immediately held between General Winder and the secretaries of state and war, that it would be impossible in the existing state of things to make effectual resistance against the invasion of the city, or defend the capitol ; the whole force was then ordered to quit the city and retreat through Georgetown to a place of safety. On receiving this order, the troops then remaining manifested the deepest regret. They consisted principally of the Georgetown and city militia, who had not had an opportunity of signalizing themselves in defence of their fire-sides ; to leave them without a struggle, an unresisting prey to the enc-

my, was more than they could endure. That order which they had heretofore observed, was entirely destroyed; some went home, some went in pursuit of refreshments, and those that remained in a body gave themselves up to those feelings which fatigue, exhaustion, and disappointment produced. An attempt was made to rally the troops at Tenleytown but with little success. The few that were there collected, marched five miles up the Potomac; and early in the morning of the 25th, orders were given for the assembling the troops at Montgomery court-house, and on the 26th, General Winder, with the troops there assembled, took up their line of march for Baltimore.

① The President and heads of departments, after their narrow escape at Bladensburgh, concluded to leave the remaining events of the day to the direction of General Winder, and returned to the city. Judging that the American officers, on their return from the field of battle, would need refreshments, the President had ordered an elegant entertainment prepared for them at his house. As soon as it was determined that the city was not to be defended, the cabinet retired to Montgomery court-house.

*Washington occupied by the British.* In the mean time, the British advanced from Bladensburgh without further opposition; and at eight o'clock in the evening General Ross entered the city at the head of eight hundred men; having arrived on capitol hill, he offered terms of capitulation, which were, that the city might be ransomed for a sum of money nearly equal to the value of the public and private property it contained; and that on receiving it, the troops should retire to their ships unmolested.

*Washington burned.* There being neither civil nor military authorities in the city, to whom the propositions could be made, the work of conflagration commenced. The capitol, the President's house, the offices of the treasury, war, and navy departments, and their furniture, with several private buildings, were destroyed. The party sent to burn the

President's house, entered it and found in readiness the entertainment which had been ordered for the American officers. In the dining hall the table was spread for forty guests, the sideboard furnished with the richest liquors, and in the kitchen the dishes all prepared. These uninvited guests devoured the feast with little ceremony, ungratefully set fire to the building where they had been so liberally fed, and returned to their comrades. One house from which General Ross apprehended himself to have been shot at, was burned, and all the people found in it slain. The most important public papers had been previously removed. The navy-yard with its contents, and apparatus, one frigate of the largest class on the stocks, and nearly ready to launch, and several smaller vessels were destroyed by Commodore Tingey, under the direction of the secretary of the navy, after the capture of the city.

<i>Estimated Loss.</i> The loss of the United States, as estimated by a committee of the senate, was, in the capitol and other public buildings	460,000
At the navy yard, in moveable property	417,745
In buildings and fixtures	91,425

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\$969,170

To this estimate is to be added the loss of the public library, furniture, and other articles not included in the foregoing; making the whole public loss somewhat to exceed a million of dollars.

*British retreat and re-embark.* The British having accomplished the object of their visit, left the city on the 25th and passed through Bladensburgh at midnight, on the route to Benedict. They left their dead unburied; such of their wounded as could ride, were placed on horseback; others in carts and wagons, and upwards of ninety left behind. The wounded British prisoners were intrusted to the humanity of Commodore Barney, who provided every thing for their comfort; and such as recovered were exchanged, and re-

turned to the British. Two hundred pieces of artillery at the arsenal and navy yard fell into their hands, which they were unable to remove ; these they spiked, knocked off the trunions, and left. Their retreat, though unmolested, was precipitate, and conducted under evident apprehensions of an attack. They reached Benedict on the 29th, and embarked on the 30th.

*British Loss.* The British loss, from the time of their landing until their embarkation, was estimated at one hundred and eighty killed, and three hundred wounded. General Ross states their loss to be only fifty-six killed, and one hundred and fifty-five wounded.

*American Loss.* The American loss was twenty killed, and forty wounded. Indeed, it seems, with some exceptions, to have been the principal object of those engaged in the defence of the capitol, to "keep out of harm's way."

The capture of the city of Washington, containing at that time about ten thousand inhabitants, was of no greater consequence in the ultimate issue of the contest, than that of any other town of the same magnitude ; but, as it was the seat of the general government, great eclat on the part of the British, and much chagrin and disappointment on the part of the Americans was attached to that event. The destruction of the arsenal, navy yard, military and naval stores, and all public property connected with the operations of the war, was the legitimate and expected consequence of the victory ; but the conflagration of the capitol, public offices, President's house, private dwellings, the library, and national archives, unauthorized by the laws of civilized war, stamped its authors with lasting infamy. Having given such a character to the war, General Ross appeared with a very ill grace, soliciting the clemency of the very people whom he had abused in behalf of the hundred wounded prisoners whom his precipitate retreat from Washington obliged him to leave at their mercy. The humanity of the Americans, however, forbade their visiting on these unfortunate prisoners the crimes



of their general. Such instances of wanton barbarity united every heart, and strengthened every arm in defence of the country; and this was happily the last opportunity which this plundering army enjoyed of pillaging and burning an American city.

*Capture of Alexandria.* The defence of the cities of Alexandria, Washington, and Georgetown, against an attack by water, depended principally on fort Washington, erected on Mason's island, six miles below Alexandria. On the 11th of May, a deputation from these cities waited on the secretary at war, and unitedly represented to him the necessity of further works at this post; in consequence of which, Colonel Wadsworth of the engineers, by order of the secretary, visited the works with the committee, and reported that the battery at fort Washington was in such a state, and so effectually commanded the channel, that it was not to be apprehended the enemy would attempt to pass it, while its present defences remained entire. Its elevated situation prevented a cannonade from the ships. In case of a design against the District of Columbia, the engineer remarked, an assault by land was most probable; to guard against which, he recommended some inconsiderable works in the rear; no additional fort in the neighbourhood was deemed necessary.\* The works on the 24th of August were garrisoned by eighty men, under the command of Captain Dyson, who had received orders from General Winder to station patrols on every road leading to the garrison, and in the event of being approached in the rear, to blow up the fort, and retreat across the river. On the 27th, the squadron under Commodore Gordon, consisting of two frigates, four rocket ships and bomb vessels, and one schooner, which had entered the Potomac on the 17th, and made their way thus far up the river, appeared approaching the fort; Captain Dyson immediately blew it up and crossed with the garrison to the Virginia shore. While Admiral Cockburn, under whose orders Commodore Gordon

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\* Colonel Wadsworth's report to the secretary at war.

acted, was at Washington with General Ross, the civil authorities of Alexandria sent a deputation to inquire of him, what treatment was to be expected in the event of that city's falling into his hands; the admiral assured them, that private property should be respected, and that what provisions might be wanted, would be fairly paid for. This, in some measure quieted the fears of the citizens. On the 28th, after the squadron had passed Mason's island, the deputation proceeded to visit Commodore Gordon, to inquire his intentions in relation to the city. He declined answering them then, but said he would inform them when he arrived opposite the town; assuring them, however, that the persons, houses, and furniture, of the citizens, should be unmolested if he met with no opposition. On the 29th, the British squadron drew up in line of battle before the town; and a communication sent from the commandant of the squadron, to the city authorities, in answer to their application for favourable terms; proposing that the town, with the exception of the public works, should not be destroyed, nor the inhabitants molested, or their dwellings entered, unless hostilities were commenced on the part of the Americans, if the following articles were complied with:

*Capitulation.* 1st. All naval and ordnance stores, public and private, to be immediately delivered up.

2d. Possession to be immediately given of all the shipping, and their furniture sent on board by the owners, without delay.

3d. The vessels that had been sunk to be raised and delivered up, in the state they were in on the 19th of August.

4th. Merchandise of every description to be immediately delivered up, including such as had been removed from the city since the 19th of August.

5. Refreshments of every kind to be supplied for the ships, and paid for in bills on the British government.

6th. Officers to be appointed to see the foregoing articles fulfilled, and any deviation on the part of the citizens to render the treaty void.\*

The inhabitants were allowed one hour to consider and answer these propositions. It was stated to the British officer bearing the flag, that the corporation possessed no power to compel the return of merchandise which had been carried into the country, or to oblige the citizens to assist in raising the sunken vessels ; and these points were given up. To an inquiry, as to what was included in the term merchandise in the capitulation, it was answered, that it would embrace all such as were intended for exportation, such as cotton, tobacco, flour, and bale goods.

*City plundered.* To these harsh and disgraceful terms, the unprotected state of Alexandria obliged the citizens to submit. The capitulation was signed, and a scene of indiscriminate plunder ensued. Three ships, three brigs, and several bay and river craft were taken and loaded with plunder, and several vessels burned. Sixteen thousand barrels of flour, one thousand hogsheads of tobacco, and one hundred and fifty bales of cotton and several thousand dollars in value of wines and sugars rewarded these marauders. While they were loading the vessels, Captains Porter and Creighton of the navy, rode up to a British midshipman, who was superintending the loading of a boat, seized him by the collar, and were about to take him off. An alarm signal was immediately given on shore to all employed on the wharves, who immediately embarked, and preparation was made for an assault. The inhabitants, apprehending the immediate destruction of the town, sent a deputation to the commanding officer, stating that the act was unauthorized by them, and not done by any inhabitant of the place ; and assuring him that guards should be placed at the intersection of each street leading to the water, to prevent similar occurrences in future. On this representation the commodore consented to overlook

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\* Capitulation of Alexandria.



it, and tranquillity was restored. The British squadron, having completed its object at Alexandria, commenced its return.

*Measures to obstruct the return of the Squadron.* A series of powerful exertions were made by Commodores Rodgers, Porter, and Perry, with the men under their command, aided by the Virginia militia, to interrupt their passage down the river. Porter and Perry proceeded to take the most commanding stations, and erect batteries on the river bank, while Rodgers prepared a flotilla of fire ships and boats to attack them in rear.

Porter took a station at the white house on the west bank. On the evening of the first of September, he arrived on the ground with the secretary of state, and Generals Hungerford and Young, and immediately proceeded to clear the ground, and prepare for mounting the cannon, then momentarily expected from Washington. The militia were ordered to take post in the woods on the high banks of the river, to annoy the enemy with their musketry as they passed. At the first moment of Commodore Porter's arrival, an eighteen gun brig was seen approaching the pass. General Hungerford immediately took post with his militia in the wood; and two small pieces arriving at the same time, were planted on the edge of the bank, and opened a brisk fire. As the brig came abreast of the battery, being favoured with a fine breeze, she fired one broadside, and passed on. The militia followed some distance along the bank, firing at the men on deck. On the same evening, two eighteen pounders arrived, and augmented the battery. The next morning a bomb ship and two barges, one carrying a long thirty-two pounder, and the other a mortar, commenced an attack on the battery. The bomb ship anchored out of the reach of the guns, and commenced throwing shells. The two barges at the same time flanking the battery on the right. The firing continued all day without intermission, and with little injury to the Americans. In the afternoon, Commodore Porter removed one of his eighteen



pounders to a more commanding position, where he could reach the enemy's ship. On the 3d, the British were reinforced by another bomb ship and a sloop fitted up as a rocket vessel. On the whole of this day, and the succeeding night, the ships, kept up a constant fire of shot, shells, and rockets. In the course of the day, the prizes laden with the plunder of Alexandria arrived, and anchored out of the reach of the guns. Five additional field pieces arrived from Washington, and a furnace for heating shot was erected. A constant fire was kept up from the ships during the fourth and fifth. One attempt was made to land which was prevented by the pickets. The rocket ship lying close in shore, was much cut up by a twelve pounder, which had been removed to a position on the bank, so as to reach her. On the 5th, several thirty-two pounders, two mortars, and a supply of ammunition arrived from Washington : carpenters had arrived and were employed in mounting the guns, and every preparation was made to prevent the passage. On the same evening the two frigates arrived, and anchored above the battery. The whole British force now consisted of ten vessels, mounting one hundred and seventy-three guns. The battery had thirteen mounted guns ; the two mortars and all the thirty-two pounders were destitute of carriages. At twelve o'clock, on the 6th, the two frigates got under weigh, with the tide and a fair wind, and stood down for the battery, the other vessels following in succession. On observing the vessels to be getting under weigh, Commodore Porter despatched an officer to general Hungerford, requesting him to resume his position in the woods, to annoy the enemy with his musketry ; but from the distance of his camp and the rapid approach of the British, he was unable to march before the firing commenced, and after that period, the shot, shells, and rockets, which showered over the hills from the ships and fell among his troops, prevented their approach. The whole of the British force now anchored abreast of the battery, and by shifting their ballast brought their guns to bear. Commodore Porter kept up a well

directed fire of hot shot on their approach, and for an hour after their anchoring, when finding himself completely overpowered, he retired behind a hill on his left. The ships immediately weighed anchor, and passed on, pouring their broadsides on the battery, and into the neighbouring woods, as they passed. A company of Virginia riflemen on the right, and of militia on the left, annoyed the enemy's decks with considerable effect.\* After the smaller ships had passed, the frigates proceeded down the river and anchored abreast of the Indian head. Commodore Porter launched a torpedo after the ships, which exploded at nine o'clock without effect. Commodore Perry had taken post at the Indian head, and erected a battery of one eighteen pounder, and several sixes; with these he kept up a well directed fire on the ships as they passed, and sustained their fire for an hour, when finding all his efforts unavailing, he retired out of the reach of the British fire, and the squadron passed on to the bay without further opposition.

While these transactions were taking place in front, Commodore Rodgers was operating with his fire ships on their rear. On the 3d, he proceeded from Washington down the river, with three fire ships, the object of which was to destroy the two frigates and a bomb ship, which lay three miles below Alexandria. He conducted the fire ships within range of musket shot, and fired them; but the wind failing, the object was defeated. A second attempt was made on the 4th, when the Commodore proceeded down the river with another fire ship, and came within a mile of the enemy's sternmost vessels just at the time they had succeeded in silencing Commodore Porter's battery; here the ship was fired and drifted down towards the squadron, but without any successful issue.

The invasion of the district of Columbia, the capture of the cities of Washington and Alexandria, and the destruction

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\* Commodore Porter's letter to the secretary of the navy.

of the public and private property, with so little injury to the invaders, and in so short a period, filled the people of the United States with surprise and regret. The events of the last twelve days of the month of August could scarcely be credited. The site of the city of Washington had been selected for the capital of the United States, as a place of perfect security. Here the united wisdom and military skill of the nation were supposed to be centered. On the 24th of August, the President as commander in chief of the military of the United States, had at his command, a regular army of forty thousand men, and eight hundred thousand militia; any or all of whom he had power to order to the defence of the capital. Within the compass of fifty miles, the distance which General Ross's army marched from their place of landing to reach the city, was a population of two hundred thousand, itself furnishing a force of at least twenty thousand men, capable of bearing arms, whose property, families, and fire-sides were exposed: to which may be added, upwards of a thousand regular troops, stationed at different points in the district; an arsenal, supplied with munitions of war, sufficient to arm any force that might be called in; an immense public and private property to be defended, and the national honour and character to be protected from insult in the capitol. Posterity will hardly credit the story, that in such a state of things, a British force of four thousand five hundred men landed at Benedict, and after a deliberate march of fifty miles, occupying five days' time, put to flight the President, the heads of departments, the commanding general of the district, and all opposing force, and on the evening of the 24th entered the city, destroyed the capitol, and plundered and destroyed all the public, and as much private property as they chose; commenced their return on the 25th, and reached their ships on the 29th, and re-embarked, without opposition: that two frigates and half a dozen small craft should ascend the Potomac two hundred miles; pass a fort without opposition, erected on a commanding position, expressly for the

purpose of protecting the district and capitol; compel the principal city to accept a most humiliating capitulation, and submit to be rifled by a contemptible squadron. The events of this period will be the less credited, when contrasted with the invasion and capture of General Burgoyne in 1777, when a British general with double the force, venturing only about the same distance from his ships into a country very sparsely inhabited, was surrounded and captured with his whole army.

*Report of Committee of Investigation.* Early in the session of Congress immediately succeeding these events, a committee of the house of representatives was appointed to inquire into, and report the causes that led to them. The committee investigated and reported all the facts connected with the subject, with great accuracy and minuteness; and remarked that in their opinion, the means authorized for the security for the 10th military district by the President of the United States, in a cabinet council of the 1st of July, were ample and sufficient, as to the extent of the force, and seasonable as to the time when the measures were authorized. Having exculpated the President, they leave it to Congress and the nation to draw their own conclusions from the facts detailed by the committee.\*

These facts very much divide and equalize the blame among the different actors. Public sentiment, however, at Washington, laid much the greater share of it upon the secretary at war; and obliged him to resign. On the 29th of August, the President informed him, that a high degree of excitement had been raised among the militia of the District of Columbia; one officer of that corps had given notice, that he would no longer obey any order coming through General Armstrong as secretary at war; and that he must so far yield to this impulse, as to permit some other person to perform the duties of that office, in relation to the defence of the district.

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\* Report of the committee of investigation.



To this proposition the secretary replied, that the excitement was without foundation, proceeding from vile and profligate motives ; that he should never consent to surrender a part of his legitimate authority for the sake of preserving the residue ; and that if the President's decision was taken in conformity to the suggestions he had made, he wished him to accept his resignation. This was offered and accepted, and the duties of the office of secretary at war, temporarily intrusted to the secretary of state.

*Causes of the Capture of Washington.* After the lapse of ten years, the causes which produced these unfortunate results may be more distinctly observed by a comparison of the principal facts and portrayed with less injury to individual reputation. They may be classed under three heads ; a failure of seasonably obtaining the requisite number of militia ; want of system in the plan of defence ; and want of courage.

*Late arrival and insufficient numbers of the Militia.* Of the fifteen thousand militia destined for the defence of Washington, five thousand were to be drawn from Pennsylvania. The orders for this purpose issued from the war office on the 17th of July, but did not reach General Winder until the 8th of August, nor the governor of Pennsylvania until the 23d ; there was of course a total failure of that corps. Despatches on which the safety of the capital might essentially depend, ought not to be trusted to the uncertainty and irregularity of mails. The militia regulations of Pennsylvania were at this period in such a situation, that the orders could not have probably been complied with, had they been seasonably received ; but this fact ought to have been known, and the deficiency supplied from some other source. Nearly one half of the other requisitions failed of being complied with, so that instead of fifteen thousand, the commanding general had at no time, more than about six thousand militia at his command : the late arrival of these rendered their services of little value. To have made them effectual, they should have been on the ground at least several days for the purpose of being mustered,

armed, disciplined, and taught what was expected from them. Some of the Maryland corps had been on the ground two days, some arrived on the evening before, and some only half an hour previous to the battle. The other militia were equally late. It is evident that different bodies of men, thus hastily called from their occupations, and unacquainted with each other, were illy qualified to meet a veteran foe in the open field. Most of the Virginia militia were not in season to take any part in the action. The unaccountable neglect at the arsenal, which prevented Colonel Minor's corps from obtaining supplies, greatly contributed to the misfortunes of the day. An addition of six hundred infantry and one hundred cavalry at Bladensburgh at twelve o'clock on the 24th, would probably have produced a very different result. But Colonel Cranberry was at his country-seat, and General Armstrong did not see fit to attend to the delivery of the supplies himself, and the troops were detained from the field. Why the corps under General Young, stationed a few miles below the city, was not ordered up for its defence, is a question which has never been answered. In a case of so much urgency, it was expected that the energies of the nation would have been put forth, to call a sufficient armament seasonably into the field. If militia were not to be procured in one place, they might have been in another, and the district defended.

*Want of a System of Defence.* Another very operative cause of the misfortunes of the day was the want of a systematic plan of defence. In making arrangements for meeting the enemy, some eligible position should have been taken between Benedict and Washington; the forces there concentrated, formed, and prepared for action. Some rallying point should also have been fixed on, and clearly understood by all the troops, to which they were to be conducted in case of defeat. Where the point should have been, for the ultimate meeting of the enemy, and the decision of the fate of the capitol, was perhaps of less consequence, than that one should have

been somewhere fixed. Had the militia been seasonably assembled, perhaps the most eligible place would have been in the forests through which the enemy had to pass from Benedict to Marlborough; where their road might have been abatted, and the militia and riflemen have been eminently useful. It was here the British expected the first rencontre with the Americans, and proceeded with the utmost caution; but the lateness of the arrival of the militia prevented such an arrangement. The first position taken, with a view to meet the enemy, was at the battalion old fields; but this was abandoned without attack on the evening of the 23d, and the main body precipitately hurried to the eastern branch bridge. It appears not to have been determined to make a stand at Bladensburg until the enemy were in full march, and within a few miles of that point. The arrangements were then very hastily made, and the main body which had been harassed by a precipitate retreat the evening before, were now hurried back to the scene of action, and had not time to form before the battle commenced; and the first line, not being effectually supported by the reserve, was thrown into confusion, and fled, their officers knew not where, not having fixed any rallying point for their re-assembling. Probably the very circumstance which was much relied on for the defence of the city, that the commanding general would be assisted by the military talents of the cabinet, was a principal cause of the defeat. It distracted his measures, lessened his responsibility, and subjected him to continual embarrassment.

Want of courage in the troops engaged, has been assigned as another cause of the unfortunate events of the 25th. Where so great an object was at stake, and the balance of numbers and preparation evidently on the side of the Americans, the public had a right to expect that the contest would not have been given up, without a much more severe struggle. It is not however intended, that there was any extraordinary deficiency of bravery in these troops, more than in others, called together under like circumstances. Assembled in the moment

of action, unacquainted with each other, uninstructed in the duties of the field, and disheartened by a precipitate retreat, the result may be accounted for without imputing to this corps any innate want of courage. The committee of investigation explicitly declare that General Winder conducted with firmness and bravery during the engagement, and that he and the other officers used every exertion to rally the troops, and prevent the flight.

The safety of the cities on the Potomac above fort Washington depended entirely upon that garrison. When it was known that a naval force had entered the river for the avowed purpose of attacking the district of Columbia, it was to have been expected that the fort would have been put in a complete state of defence, the garrison increased, and orders given to defend it to the last: instead of this it was but illy supplied, garrisoned only by a captain's command, and orders given to abandon it on the approach of danger. This at once exposed the cities bordering on the river above to the ravages of the enemy. Captain Dyson, the commandant, was indeed arrested, tried by a court martial, convicted, and cashiered. Still a great share of the blame of abandoning that position attaches itself to higher authority.





## CHAPTER XV.

Admiral Cochrane's Letter, threatening to lay waste the Coast.—The Secretary's Reply.—The President's Proclamation.—Baltimore threatened.—Plan of Defence.—Landing of the British on the Patapsco.—General Ross slain.—Battle of the 12th September.—British reconnoitre the American Lines and retreat.—Re-embark.—Attack on Fort M'Henry.—Brave Defence.—British repulsed.—Proceed down the Bay.—Leave the Chesapeake.—Burning the Shipping at Petti-paug.—Attack on Stonington.—Gallant Defence.—Capture of Eastport.—Castine, and the Eastern Coast.—Destruction of the Frigate Adams.—Plunder of the Towns on the Coast of Massachusetts.

*Admiral Cochrane's Threats.* ON Admiral Cochrane's arrival in the Chesapeake, he was joined by Admiral Cockburn's squadron of three ships of the line, several frigates, and smaller ships of war, which had been pursuing the same system of plunder and rapine, for several months on the counties bordering on the bay, which they had practised the preceding season. The whole fleet now consisted of sixty sail.

That the government and country might be at no loss what species of warfare was intended to be carried on by this armament, the admiral addressed a note to the secretary of state, dated the 18th of August, declaring that he had been called upon by the governor general of the Canadas, to aid him in carrying into effect measures of retaliation against the inhabitants of the United States, for the wanton destruction committed by their army in Upper Canada; and that in compliance therewith he should issue orders to the naval force under his command, to DESTROY AND LAY WASTE SUCH TOWNS AND DISTRICTS ON THE COAST AS MIGHT BE FOUND ASSAILABLE.

He proceeds to remark, with an affected air of humanity, that he had hoped this contest would have terminated without being obliged to resort to severities, which are contrary to

the usage of civilized warfare ; that it was with extreme reluctance he had been compelled to adopt this system of devastation, and hoped the executive of the United States would authorize the staying of such proceedings, by making reparation to the suffering inhabitants of Upper Canada.\*

These threats were not communicated to the American government until after the events at Washington and Alexandria had shown the manner in which they were intended to be executed.

*Secretary's Reply.*—On the 9th of September, the secretary of state replied, that at the commencement of the war, the United States had resolved to conduct it in a manner most consonant to the principles of humanity, and to those friendly relations which it was desirable to preserve between the two nations on the return of peace. They perceived, however, with the deepest regret, that a spirit alike humane and just, was neither cherished nor acted upon by the British government. Without dwelling upon the deplorable cruelties committed by the savages, in the British ranks and British pay, on American prisoners at the river Raisin, which had never been disavowed nor atoned, the secretary referred him to the wanton desolation committed at Havre-de-Grace and Georgetown, stating, that these villages were burned and ravaged by the naval forces of Great Britain, to the ruin of their unarmed inhabitants, who saw with astonishment that they derived no protection from the laws of war; that during the same season, scenes of invasion and pillage carried on under the same authority, were witnessed all along the shores of the Chesapeake to an extent, inflicting the most serious private distress, and under circumstances that justified the suspicion that revenge and cupidity led to their perpetration; the late destruction of the houses of government at Washington, is another act which necessarily comes into view. In the wars of modern Europe, no example of the

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\* Admiral Cochrane's letter to the secretary of state, August 18th, 1814.

kind, among nations the most hostile to each other, can be traced. In the course of ten years, most of the capitals of the principal powers of the continent of Europe have been conquered and occupied by the victorious armies of each other, and no instance of such wanton and unjustifiable destruction has been seen ; resort must be had to distant and barbarous ages to find a parallel.

Although these acts of desolation incited, if they did not impose on the government the necessity of retaliation yet in no instance had been authorized. The burning of the village of Newark, posterior to the outrages in 1813, was not done on that principle. That village adjoined fort George, and its destruction was justified by the officer who ordered it, on the ground that it became necessary in the military operations in that quarter. The act, however, was disavowed by the government. The burning at Long Point on lake Erie was unauthorized, and the conduct of the officer subjected to the investigation of a military tribunal. For the burning at St. Davids, committed by a few stragglers, the officer who commanded in that quarter was dismissed without a trial for not preventing it. It as little comports with any orders which have been issued to the military and naval commanders of the United States, as it does with the established and known humanity of the American nation, to pursue a system which the British government appears to have adopted. This government owes it to itself, and to the principles which it has ever held sacred, to disavow, as justly chargeable to it, any such acts of wanton, cruel, and unjustifiable warfare. Whatever unauthorized irregularities may have been committed by any of its troops, it would have been ever ready, acting on the principles of sacred and eternal obligation, to disavow ; and as far as might be practicable, to repair. But in the plan of desolating warfare, now so explicitly made known, and attempted to be executed on a plea so utterly groundless, appears a spirit of deep rooted hostility, which, without the evidence of such facts, would not have been believed to exist,



or to have been carried to such an extremity. For the reparation of injuries of whatever nature not sanctioned by the laws of civilized nations, which the military or naval force of either power may have committed against each other, this government will always be ready to enter into reciprocal arrangements, and it is presumed the British government will neither expect, nor propose any other.\*

To this letter Admiral Cochrane, on the 19th of September, answered, that he had no authority to enter upon a discussion of the points therein contained : that there did not appear to be any hope that he should be authorized to recall the general order he had issued : that he should forward a copy of the letter to his government, and until he received instructions to the contrary, the measures he had adopted would be persisted in, unless remuneration be made to the inhabitants of the Canadas for the outrages committed on them by the troops of the United States.\*

These threats were carried into execution by a series of disgraceful plunder and pillage on those accessible points in the Chesapeake which had escaped the ravages of the last season ; and awakened in the citizens on the sea-board, apprehensions of the most alarming kind. They were now called upon to defend their property, their families, and fire-sides, from immediate destruction.

On the 1st of September, the President returned to Washington ; and from the ruins of the capitol, issued a proclamation giving publicity to Admiral Cochrane's letter ; stating that the conduct of the British left no prospect of safety to any thing within the reach of his predatory and incendiary operations, but in a manful and united determination to chase and expel the invader ; urging all the citizens of the United States to unite their hearts and hands in giving effect to the ample means possessed for that purpose ; enjoining all

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\* Secretary of state to Admiral Cochrane, September 9th, 1814.

\* Admiral Cochrane to the secretary of state, Sept. 19th, 1814.

officers civil and military to exert themselves in executing the duties with which they were respectively charged ; and requiring the officers commanding the military districts to be vigilant and alert in providing for their defence ; and authorizing them to call to the defence of threatened and exposed places, portions of the militia most convenient thereto, whether they were parts of the detached quotas or not. The proclamation concludes with observing that on an occasion that appeals so forcibly to the proud feelings and patriotic devotion of the American people, none will forget what they owe to themselves, to their country, and to the high destinies which await it, what to the glory of their fathers in establishing that independence which is now to be maintained by their sons, with the augmented strength and resources with which heaven has blessed them.\* The governors of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and New-Jersey, issued addresses to their respective citizens breathing the same spirit ; ordering their militia to hold themselves in immediate readiness, directing detachments to march to the most exposed points, and calling on volunteers to defend their country. These patriotic addresses were answered by voluntary offers of service in many instances, more than were required.

*Attempt on Baltimore.* After the successes at Washington and Alexandria, the next and most inviting object for British cupidity was the city of Baltimore. General Ross, elated with his recent success, boasted that he would make that city his winter-quarters, and that with the force under his command he could march where he pleased in Maryland. On the 10th of September, the British forces appeared ascending the bay, in a direction towards Baltimore. On the 11th, fifty sail consisting of several ships of the line, frigates, and transports, with six thousand men, entered the mouth of the Patapsco ; and early in the

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\* President's proclamation, Sept. 1st, 1814.

morning of the 12th, commenced landing at North Point, fourteen miles below the city.

*Defence of the City.* The defence was intrusted to Major General Smith, of the Maryland militia, assisted by General Winder and all the United States troops which had been recently engaged at Washington, and supported by all the militia of Baltimore and the neighbouring country, the whole composing a force of fifteen thousand. Every citizen of Baltimore capable of bearing arms appeared in the ranks, ready to sacrifice his life in defence of the city. The point selected by General Smith, where the ultimate defence was to be made, was upon the heights three miles in advance of the city towards the mouth of the Patapsco. Here the citizens with great labour had, under the direction of their general, erected strong fortifications. The general, with the main body, took post at this point with a heavy park of artillery. General Stricker, with the city volunteers and militia, to the number of three thousand five hundred, was posted four miles in advance at the head of long log lane, his right on the head of a branch of Bear creek, his left on a marsh, and the artillery posted at the head of the lane. The rifle corps were stationed in the low thick pines, in advance. General Stricker was ordered, in case of an attack by a superior force, to fall back on the main body. In this position the Americans waited the approach of the enemy. The whole population of the city came out to witness, the event on which their safety depended, and, on the neighbouring heights, animated their brethren in arms. The British, having completed the debarkation by seven o'clock in the morning, took up their line of march for the city. The 41st regiment in advance, followed by eight pieces of artillery, next the second brigade, then the sailors, and last the third brigade. The march of the main body was preceded by blank patrols, and reconnoitering parties.

*Battle at Long Log Lane.* In this order they approached the American lines. General Ross, with a small reconnoitering party, half a mile in advance of the main body, was

shot through the breast by a rifleman, fell into the arms of his aid-de-camp, and died in a few minutes. By this event, the command devolved on Colonel Brook, of the 44th; who, after the troops had recovered from the shock occasioned by the loss of their leader, led them on in order of battle. The advance of General Stricker, consisting of cavalry and riflemen, under Major Heath, were first met by the enemy, and after some skirmishing, fell back on the line. The main body of the British were but a short distance in rear of their advance; and as they came up, the action immediately became general. The attack commenced by a discharge of rockets from the British, and was soon succeeded by grape, canister, and small arms from both sides. General Stricker maintained his position against a great superiority of numbers for an hour and an half, when the regiment on his left giving way, he was obliged to retire to a position in the rear where he had stationed one regiment as a reserve. Here the troops were formed, with the reserve, and without further molestation from the British, fell back to Worthington mills on the left, and half a mile in advance of the main body. On the night of the 12th, the British bivouacked in advance of the battle ground; and on the morning of the 13th, commenced their march towards the city. At ten o'clock, they appeared in front of the American lines, distant two miles on the Philadelphia road. Here they halted, pushing their advance within a mile of the works; where they had a full view of the position and defence of the Americans. They remained on this ground, reconnoitering the works, and waiting the result of the attack on fort M'Henry until one o'clock in the morning of the fourteenth, when they commenced a retreat to their shipping, began their embarkation the succeeding evening, and completed it the next day.

*Attack on Fort M'Henry.* The entrance from the Patapsco into Baltimore basin, or harbour, is by a narrow strait, the passage of which is defended by fort M'Henry, two miles below the city. The command of this post was intrusted to



Major Armistead, of the United States artillery. The garrison, before the appearance of the enemy in the Patapsco, amounted to one hundred men; on their approach, it was increased to a thousand. Two batteries to the right of the fort were erected on the river to prevent the enemy's landing during the night, in rear of the town; the one called the city battery, was manned by Lieutenant Webster, with a detachment of the flotilla; the other, denominated fort Covington, by a company of sailors, under Lieutenant Newcomb. The British designed a simultaneous attack by land and water, and while the transports were landing the troops at north point, the ships of war proceeded towards fort M'Henry. On the 12th, sixteen ships, including five bomb vessels, drew up in line of battle, within two and a half miles of the fort; and on the 13th at sunrise, the attack commenced from the bomb ships at two miles distance. The regular artillerists under Captain Evans, and the volunteers under Captain Nicholson, manned the batteries in the star fort. Captains Banbury's, Addison's, Rodman's, Perry's, and Pennington's commands, were stationed in the lower works; and the infantry under Colonel Stewart, and Major Lane, were in the outer ditch to meet the enemy at his landing, should he attempt one. The guns from the fort were unable to reach the British ships, and left the garrison exposed to a constant shower of shot and shells, without being able to do the enemy any injury. At ten o'clock, three of the bomb ships took a nearer position, on which a brisk fire opened upon them, and compelled them to resume their former station. At one o'clock in the morning of the 14th, the British threw a considerable force above the main works, on the right near fort Covington, and commenced throwing rockets. Twelve hundred picked men were detached with scaling ladders, to attempt the taking of the fort by storm. As they were approaching the shore, a fire opened upon them from fort Covington, and a six gun battery. The fire was directed by the blaze of their rockets, and the flashes of their guns. This fire continued about two

hours ; the landing was prevented, one of the barges sunk, and the others compelled to return. The bombardment continued with very little intermission, from sunrise on the 13th to seven o'clock on the 14th, when the squadron got under weigh, and stood down the river. Four hundred shells fell within the fort ; four men were killed, and twenty-four wounded. The officers and men of the garrison did their duty ; and by their brave and judicious conduct, the British were repulsed, and the city saved from pillage.

In the battle of the 12th, the American loss was twenty-four killed, one hundred and thirty-nine wounded, and fifty taken prisoners. The British acknowledge a loss in the same battle of thirty-five killed, and two hundred and fifty-one wounded. Their whole loss in killed, wounded, and missing in the battle, and at the attack on the fort, was estimated by the American general at six hundred. The defeat of the British in their attempt on Baltimore, was highly honourable to General Smith, who planned, and conducted the operations, and to the officers and men engaged in the defence. It banished the desponding apprehensions of the other exposed cities, and taught them that freemen in arms in defence of their country, are invincible. Robert G. Harper accompanied General Stricker as a volunteer, and was found in the advance in the battle of the 12th. James L. Donaldson, one of the city representatives, was among the slain. Almost the whole loss fell on the city brigade, which being composed of the élité of the city, took their stand in the front line at the post of danger, and fought with distinguished bravery in defence of their altars and fire-sides. The inhabitants mourned the loss of many of their valuable fellow-citizens, and erected a splendid monument to their memory in the centre of the city. After the battle, the British land and naval commanders, in a council of war, wisely determined that though the city might be taken by their forces, yet it would probably cost them more than the object was worth ; and concluded to abandon it. They proceeded down the bay,

and after landing and pillaging at several points where resistance was not to be expected, the whole armament left the waters of the Chesapeake; Admiral Cochrane, with a part of the squadron, sailed for Halifax; and Admiral Malcomb, with the remainder, and the land forces, for Jamaica.

*Pettipaug Point.* The blockade of the harbour of New-London and the frigates United States and Macedonian, continued during the year 1814. On the 7th of April, a detachment from the blockading squadron of six barges with upwards of two hundred men, in execution of the plan of destroying all American shipping, proceeded to the mouth of Connecticut river and ascended it seven miles to Pettipaug point, where they arrived at 4 o'clock on the morning of the 8th, and burned twenty-two vessels which had been moored there as a place of safety. The village consisting of about thirty houses and a number of stores, was exposed to conflagration by the burning of the shipping. Several houses took fire, but were extinguished by the exertions of the inhabitants who remained in the village, and were suffered to put out the fires. The property destroyed was estimated at \$150,000. The inhabitants had no notice of the approach of the enemy, until the vessels were on fire. At ten o'clock the British left the village and proceeded two miles down the river, where they lay until evening, and then returned to their ships. The militia collected in considerable numbers from the neighbouring towns, but were unable to prevent the return of the enemy.

*Attack on Stonington.* On the 9th of August, a detachment from the squadron off New-London, consisting of the flag ship Ramilies 74, Pactolus 38, a bomb-ship, and the Despatch brig of 22 guns, appeared off Stonington point. At five o'clock a note was addressed to the magistrates of the village by the commodore, informing them that one hour from the receipt of the note was allowed them for the removal of the unoffending inhabitants and their effects. The officer who brought the note was inquired of whether a flag would be received from the magistrates; his reply was, that no arrangement could be

made. On being asked whether Commodore Hardy had determined to destroy the town, he replied, that such were his orders from Admiral Cochrane ; and that it would be done most effectually. On receiving this communication, the village was thrown into the utmost consternation. The most valuable articles were hastily removed or concealed. The sick and aged were removed, the women, children, and inhabitants incapable of bearing arms, fled to the neighbouring farm-houses. A few militia stationed at the point, under the command of Lieutenant Hough, were placed in the best positions to give notice of any attempt to land. A number of volunteers hastened to the battery on the point, which consisted of two eighteens, and one four pounder mounted on field carriages, protected by a slight breastwork. An express was immediately despatched to General Cushing at New-London, the United States commanding general of the district, with a request for immediate assistance. The general considered this as a feint intended to mask a real attack on fort Griswold, which commanded the harbour of New-London ; that the object of the enemy was to draw the regular troops and militia from that post, and in the mean time land a considerable force at the head of Mystic, four miles in the rear of the fort, and take it by storm. Having accomplished this object they could destroy or lay under contribution the town of New-London, and proceed up the river and capture the frigates.\* This opinion of the general's was confirmed in consequence of the squadrons having lately been reinforced ; and a number of ships taking stations near Mystic. Having these views of the designs of the enemy, General Cushing made correspondent arrangements with Major General Williams, commander of the division of militia in that district ; and orders were immediately given for the assembling of one regiment at the point of attack at Stonington ; one at the head of Mystic river to prevent a landing for the purpose of attacking fort Griswold ;

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\* General Cushing's letter to the secretary at war.



one company of artillery and one regiment of infantry at Norwich port, a few miles in the rear of the frigates ; and one company of artillery and regiment of infantry for the protection of fort Trumbull and the city of New-London. These dispositions were promptly and zealously carried into effect.

The village of Stonington point consists of about one hundred dwelling-houses, and a number of stores, compactly built on a narrow peninsula extending half a mile, and forming a convenient harbour. The attack commenced on this village at 8 o'clock in the evening by a discharge of shells from the bomb-ship, and rockets and carcasses from several barges, and launches which had taken their stations at different points. The fire continued without intermission until midnight, and was occasionally answered from the battery as the light of the rockets presented a view of the object. During this period, the non-combatant inhabitants of the village, having taken shelter in the neighbouring houses and barns, were waiting the event in trembling anxiety ; expecting every moment to witness the conflagration of their dwellings. At twelve o'clock the firing ceased ; no building was consumed, or person injured. In the course of the night the militia and volunteers assembled in considerable numbers. At day-light on the 10th, the approach of the British was announced by a discharge of rockets from several barges and a launch, which had taken their stations on the east side of the village, and out of the reach of the battery. A number of volunteers with musketry and one four pounder hastened across the point to meet the enemy supposing they would attempt a landing from the barges. Colonel Randall of the 13th regiment, who was at this time approaching the battery with a detachment of militia, ordered his men to assist the volunteers in drawing over one of the eighteen pounders to the extreme end of the point, the fire from which soon compelled the barges to seek their safety by flight : during this time the brig was working up towards the point, and at sun-rise dropped anchor within half a mile of the battery. This was now manned only by about

twenty men ; and their ammunition being expended, they spiked the guns and retired. The brig now continued deliberately to pour into the village her thirty-two pound and grape shot, and the bomb ship to throw her shells for an hour without a shot being returned.

*Repulse.* At eight o'clock a supply of ammunition having arrived, the eighteen pounder was drilled, and such an animated and well directed fire opened on the brig, that at three o'clock, having received several shot below her water mark, and much damage in her spars and rigging, she slipped her cables and hauled off, out of the reach of the battery. In this contest two Americans only were slightly wounded. The flag which was nailed to the staff on the battery was pierced with seven shot ; the breast work was considerably damaged, and six or eight dwelling houses much injured. Considerable bodies of militia arrived in the course of the day : and Brigadier General Isham took the command. The inhabitants had recovered from the consternation of the first moments ; things assumed a more regular and orderly aspect. Every one capable of bearing arms was at the post of danger, and the others employed in removing their effects.

The Ramilies and Pactolus now hauled up and took stations within two miles of the village ; and threatened it with instant destruction. The magistrates sent a deputation on board the Ramilies with a note addressed to Commodore Hardy, informing him, that the town was now cleared of unoffending inhabitants in consequence of his note of yesterday, and wishing to know his determination respecting the fate of the village. The deputation consisting of Colonel Williams and Mr. Lord, were detained on board an hour, their own boat sent back ; and at the expiration of the time, they were conveyed in a flag from the ship with a note to the magistrates, stating, that the deputation having given assurances that no torpedoes had been fitted out from that port, and having engaged that none should be in future, or receive any aid from the town ; that further hostilities should cease, and the village

be spared, in case they would send on board his ship, by eight o'clock in the morning of the 11th, Mrs. Stewart, a lady then resident at New-London, wife of the late British consul at that place and her family. But in case of failure, he should proceed to destroy the village effectually; for which he stated that he possessed ample means. The magistrates and citizens of the borough were in a singular state of embarrassment on receiving this demand; being required to procure and send on board the commodore's ship, a lady over whom they had no control. Mrs. Stewart was under the protection of the government of the United States; had ever been treated with respect at New-London, where she had long resided; her personal safety was never in the least at hazard; and her husband's application to have his family sent on board the squadron had been received by the commanding general and transmitted to the executive, and no doubt would be granted; but the borough of Stonington had no concern or authority on the subject, and possessed no powers to comply with the required condition. At eight o'clock in the morning of the 11th, the magistrates, under the direction of the commanding general, sent a flag on board the *Ramilies* with the foregoing representation. The commodore replied, that he should wait until twelve o'clock, and if the lady was not then sent on board, hostilities would re-commence. At this period, three regiments of militia had arrived, and the town was well secured against a landing. At three o'clock, the bomb-ship having taken a station out of the reach of the guns of the battery, commenced throwing shells into the village and continued until evening. At sun-rise on the 12th, the bomb-ship renewed her operations, while the *Ramilies* and *Pactolus* were warping in; at eight o'clock these ships opened their fire. This heavy bombardment, continued until noon, when the ships ceased firing. At four in the afternoon they hauled off to their former anchorage, and the contest ended. The Vice Consul was obliged to resort to other, and more appropriate measures to obtain his wife and family,

than that of desolating an unoffending village. The ships taking a station out of the reach of cannon shot from the battery, the citizens were obliged to witness the scene without the power of resistance. The troops withdrew from the point excepting a guard of fifty men, who were kept to patrol the streets and extinguish fires. The cannon from the battery were ordered up to the north end of the point, to be in readiness in case of an attempt at landing; this hazardous service was performed by volunteers of the Norwich artillery, who instantly offered themselves, under the command of Lieutenant Lathrop. This party, though exposed the whole time to the enemy's fire, accomplished the enterprise without loss. During the whole scene no lives were lost, and but two or three wounded. The houses were several times set on fire by the rockets and shells, but were soon extinguished by the patrol. Many of the buildings were much damaged, and few remain without some marks of the bombardment. The judicious arrangements of general Cushing, and the spirit and alacrity with which the militia turned out to defend Stonington, and guard the other exposed points, prevented those ulterior operations of the British, which were apprehended by that general, and which no doubt, were designed as the ultimate object of the expedition. The citizens of Connecticut, when called upon to defend their dwellings from conflagration, manifested a zeal and bravery worthy of freemen in defence of their soil. The reception which the British met with at Stonington, deterred them from any further attempts on the coast of Connecticut.

The constitution vests Congress with the power of providing for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, for calling them forth to repel invasions, and governing them when in service, reserving the appointment of officers, and the authority of training the militia to the states respectively. In pursuance of these provisions, general regulations had from time to time been made by Congress, for organizing and disciplining the militia, and authorizing the President to call



for their services in the cases provided by the constitution. The manner in which these powers had been uniformly executed, had been for the President, through the war department, to require of the commander in chief of each state such detachments of the militia, as, in the opinion of the President, the occasion required. These requisitions had usually been promptly complied with, and the militia thus called into the service of the United States, subject in their general operations to the orders of the President, as commander in chief, given through the agency of officers of his appointment; the officers of the line having the immediate command of the troops, being appointed under the state authorities. No provision had been made for cases of non-compliance with these requisitions. They were of necessity addressed to persons not deriving their appointments or powers from the general government, or amenable to it in the discharge of their official duties. This singular principle of relying on the co-operation of the state authorities, to carry into effect the measures of the general government, being almost the only relic of the old confederation, was in several instances attended with the most serious consequences. When a requisition was made on Governor Snyder for five thousand Pennsylvania militia, for the defence of the capitol; the militia laws of that state were in such a situation, that not a soldier could be obtained for the service; and of the fifteen thousand militia required of the commanders in chief of the neighbouring states, for the defence of the city of Washington, the commanding general of the district states, scarcely as many hundred could be obtained. A division of the militia of Vermont were ordered into service by a United States officer, without an application to the state authorities, to protect Plattsburgh, while General Hampton advanced to the St. Lawrence; Governor Chittenden considered this as an infringement of his constitutional rights, and, as commander in chief of the militia of that state, countermanded the order. When requisitions were made upon Governor Strong, for de-

tachments of the militia of Massachusetts, to defend the extensive sea-board of that state, and to place them under the direction of the commanding general of the district, he refused a compliance. There being no regular troops in the vicinity, and no provision for calling out the militia but through the agency of the state authorities, upon their refusal, the defence of that portion of the union devolved on the state government. Their resources were altogether inadequate to such an object; and their sea-board, especially the eastern section, left without defence, and possession taken by the British of such portions of it as suited their convenience with little resistance.

*Eastport taken.* On the 11th of July a squadron under Commodore Hardy in the *Ramilies*, with four other ships of war, and three transports, with twelve hundred troops, took possession of Eastport; the garrison consisting of fifty men under Major Putnam, with six pieces of artillery, surrendered without resistance. This town is on Moose Island, on the western side of Passamaquoddy bay, containing one thousand inhabitants, is the most eastern village in the United States, and opposite the province of New-Brunswick. The Island is five miles long, and one broad. The principal ship channel, half a mile wide, is on the eastern shore of the island, between that and Indian Island in the British territory. The British claimed Moose Island as belonging to the province of New-Brunswick, and proceeded to complete the fortifications, mount sixty pieces of cannon, establish an arsenal, and adopt other measures indicative of a permanent possession. The inhabitants were required to take the oath of allegiance to his Britanic majesty or quit the Island. Most of them preferred the former. Several vessels, and goods to the amount of three hundred thousand dollars, accumulated there for the purpose of being smuggled into the United States, were taken by the British, and most of them made prize of, notwithstanding their owners were ready to change their allegiance to save their property. This position, thus strengthened, afforded a safe and convenient rendezvous for British shipping.

Commodore Hardy, having accomplished this object, in a short period returned to his station off New-London.

*Castine, &c. taken.* On the first of September, an expedition, under Sir John Sherbrooke, governor of Nova Scotia, and Admiral Griffith, with forty sail, and several thousand troops, entered the Penobscot, took possession of, and established their head-quarters at Castine. The small garrison with which the town was defended, discharged their guns on the approach of the British, blew up the fort, and retired. They next sent a detachment of six hundred men to Belfast, which also submitted without resistance, and the following day proceeded thirty-five miles up the river to Hampden, to which place the American frigate Adams, had retired on their approach. Captain Morris, prepared for defence by landing his guns, and erecting batteries at a commanding point below his ship. The militia assembled in considerable numbers, but fled on the approach of the enemy. Captain Morris being deserted by the militia, after a few ineffectual fires, spiked his guns, burned his stores and prize goods, blew up his ship, and escaped with his crew across the wilderness to Portsmouth. The vessels captured in the Penobscot, and at the neighbouring ports, amounted to one hundred and twenty. The British commanders, having taken possession of the principal towns on the coast, published their proclamation at Castine, declaring the conquest of all the country eastward of the Penobscot to Passamaquoddy bay by his Britanic majesty's arms, requiring the inhabitants of the district to give up their arms, and quietly submit to his majesty's government, promising on these conditions protection in their ordinary pursuits, assuring them that the municipal laws then in force should continue and be executed by the magistrates as heretofore, until the further order of the British government. The territory thus occupied, comprehends forty-two flourishing towns, belonging to the state of Massachusetts, and nearly one half of the district of Maine.

*Plunder on the Coast of Massachusetts.* While these transactions were going forward in the province of Maine, Sir George Collier in the *Leander*, with several other ships of war, was cruising along the coast of Massachusetts proper, carrying into effect Admiral Cochrane's threats, and under his orders, burning and destroying all the small vessels within his reach, plundering the inhabitants, and laying the towns under contribution. At Sandwich, two thousand dollars were demanded as a ransom for the fishing vessels in that port; twelve hundred for the salt works at Eastham, and four thousand for those at Brewster. The inhabitants along the coast of Cape Cod, possessing a barren territory, live principally by fishing, and are dependent upon that source to furnish the means of support; their supplies are obtained only by water carriage from other ports, where they exchange their fish. On the 21st of September, Sir George addressed a note to the inhabitants of Portsmouth and its vicinity, informing them that he prohibited all fishing on the banks: that every vessel curing fish, or having salt on board for that purpose, would be destroyed: that small vessels only with fresh fish, would be permitted to enter the harbours on that coast; and that he should destroy all vessels exceeding thirty tons, or that should be curing their fish in the offing. These proceedings entirely depriving the inhabitants of the means of support, reduced the country to the utmost distress.

On the 29th of August, Admiral Hotham, off Nantucket, sent in a flag to the inhabitants of that island, stating that it had been represented to him that they were much distressed for want of provisions and necessaries of life, and that he was induced to propose to them, that if they would lay down their arms, and stipulate not to fight against his Britannic majesty's subjects during the war, he would permit a certain limited number of vessels to ply unmolested between the island, and the ports of the United States, and those of the British dominions, for the purpose of procuring supplies for the inhabitants; but that they would not be permitted to fish for cod or



whale, in or near his majesty's dominions. These humiliating terms were acceded to by the inhabitants. Indeed the unprotected Islands and towns on the sea-board throughout the whole coast, were compelled to submit to such conditions as the British naval commanders saw fit to impose, which were more or less severe, as their caprice or avarice dictated. The foregoing examples furnish a correct specimen of the privations, insults, and depredations to which they were subjected.

The country was kept in a state of constant alarm; the militia being repeatedly called out to such points as appeared to be threatened: and when called to the defence of a particular place in sufficient numbers to protect it, a distant town could be threatened, plundered, or laid under contribution before any relief could arrive. The British, having no other important object for the employment of their marine during the year 1814, continued this harassing and predatory mode of warfare along the whole American coast. These events, so humiliating to the country, and distressing to the immediate sufferers, convinced every American of the necessity of a naval force adequate to the protection of the ports and waters of the United States, and united all parties in measures adapted to that object. More property was destroyed, and injury sustained on the coast, for the want of such means of defence, in a single year, than would have been sufficient to defray the whole expense.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Naval Operations in 1814.—Cruise of the *Peacock*.—Adams.—*Wasp*.—Privateer General Armstrong.—Capture of the *President*.—Cruise of the *Hornet*; of the *Constitution*.—Number and Value of Captures from the British in 1814.—Number and Value of Ships taken during the War.—General Result of the Naval War.

*Naval Operations.* THE operations of the American navy in the year 1814, were considerably diminished by the loss of the *Chesapeake* and *Essex* frigates, and the continued blockade of the United States and *Macedonian* in the port of New-London. The same caution was observed also this season by the British commanders, in avoiding a rencontre with the American frigates on equal terms. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the American naval character was fully supported by the skill and bravery of the commanders, and their crews. In every instance they sought a battle, when it could be had on any thing like equal grounds, and their uniform success bore honourable testimony to their skill and valour. American seamanship was often as fully put to the test in evading a contest, where the superiority of their enemy made it an imperious duty, as in meeting him when a comparison of their relative force justified a rencontre. But the Americans fought only for honour. No success within the compass of human means could make any sensible impression on the thousand ships of the British navy. On the contrary, every loss on the part of the Americans made a serious diminution of their maritime force.

*Peacock.* On the 10th of April, the sloop of war *Peacock* sailed from St. Marys on a cruise in the gulf of Mexico; and on the 29th, fell in with and captured the British brig *Epervier*, after an action of forty-five minutes. The vessels were

of equal force, each mounting eighteen guns. The *Epervier* had eight men killed and fifteen wounded; she had on board \$120,000 dollars in specie to reward the valour of her captors. None were killed on board the *Peacock* and but two wounded. She and her prize arrived safe at Savannah on the 4th of May. After a short stay in port, the *Peacock* proceeded to a second cruise. This was directed to the Irish channel, and on the coast of Scotland, to intercept, and break up the intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland. On this ground she captured and destroyed fourteen vessels with their cargoes, estimated at seven hundred thousand dollars. After a cruise of five months, she made the harbour of New-York on the 20th of October. The effects of this cruise, aided by the enterprise of the American privateers in the Irish channel, were such, that the insurance on the coasting trade was raised from one to thirteen per cent. The ship owners and underwriters of Glasgow, on the 7th of September, presented a memorial to the prince regent, in which they stated, that the number of American ships of war with which their channels were infested, the audacity with which they approached the British coasts, and the success with which their enterprise has been attended, have proved injurious to their commerce, humbling to their pride, and discreditable to the directors of the naval power of the British nation; that the system of burning and destroying every article which there was fear of losing, diminished the chances of recapture, and rendered the necessity of prevention more urgent: they therefore pray the prince regent, that such measures may be adopted as shall effectually protect the trade on the coasts of the kingdom, from the numerous insulting and destructive depredations of their enemy. Similar representations from Liverpool, and several other maritime towns, bore honourable testimony to the enterprise and bravery of the American marine.

*Adams.* The corvette *Adams*, Captain Morris, sailed from Lynnhaven bay on the 18th of January, on a cruise to the coast of Africa, where she made several prizes. On the 25th

of March, she captured, after a long chase, a valuable India ship ; but just as the crew were taking possession of her, a convoy of twenty-five sail, accompanied by two ships of war appeared in sight. The ships gave chase to the Adams and obliged her to abandon the prize, and seek her own safety by a precipitate flight. After a cruise of seven months, the Adams arrived on the coast of the United States, and made the port of Castine. On the approach of the British before that place, she retired up the Penobscot to Hampden, where she was afterwards destroyed with her prize goods, and stores to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy.

*Wasp.* On the 10th of April, the sloop of war Wasp, Captain Blakeley, sailed from Portsmouth, New-Hampshire, on a cruise to the English channel. On the 28th of June, she fell in with the British sloop of war Reindeer ; an action commenced at twenty minutes after three, at close quarters ; the Reindeer twice attempted to board, but was repulsed. At forty minutes past three, orders were given to board the Reindeer, which were promptly executed, and all resistance ceased. The British loss was twenty-three killed, including their commander, Captain Manners, and forty-two wounded ; the American, five killed and twenty-one wounded. The Reindeer mounted eighteen guns, the Wasp twenty-two. After taking out the prisoners, their baggage, and such stores as would be received on board the Wasp, the Reindeer was blown up. Captain Blakely then put into L'Orient, for the purpose of repairing his ship, and obtaining supplies. Between the first of May, and the 6th of July, he took and destroyed eight sail. On the 1st of September, he fell in with the British brig Avon ; an action commenced at half past nine in the evening, and at twelve minutes past ten the Avon surrendered. Before Captain Blakely had taken possession, another sail appeared close on board, when orders were given for immediate action. At this moment two more sail appeared standing for the Wasp, one on the lee quarter, and one astern. Orders were then given to make sail from the enemy, and the



Wasp effected her escape. After leaving L'Orient, Captain Blakely made six prizes ; five of which he sunk, and sent one into port. From that time the Wasp has never been heard of ; she doubtless foundered at sea, and her brave crew perished.

*Privateer General Armstrong.* On the 26th of September, the American privateer brig General Armstrong, Captain Reid, came to anchor in the port of Fayal, one of the Azores, a Portuguese Island in the Atlantic. On the same day the Plantagenet seventy-four, and the Rota and Carnation, British ships of war, suddenly appeared in the roads. At dark, Capt. Reid warped his ship in under the guns of the fort for protection ; at eight o'clock he observed four boats from the ships filled with armed men approaching him ; after warning them to keep off, he fired into the boats, killed seven men, and compelled them to return. At midnight twelve large boats armed with swivels, carronades, and muskets, attacked the brig, and after a severe action of forty minutes, the contest ended in a total defeat of the party, a partial destruction of the boats, and a severe loss of men. Among the killed were the first lieutenant of the Plantagenet, the commandant of the party, and two lieutenants and one midshipman of the Rota. It was estimated by the spectators on shore, that the boats contained four hundred men, and that more than half of them were killed or wounded. Several boats were destroyed, two remained along side of the Armstrong, loaded with their dead and dying, only seventeen from these two boats reached the shore. The British acknowledged a loss of one hundred and twenty killed. The sloops Thais and Calipso, were loaded with the wounded and sent to England. Immediately after the first attack, Mr. Dobney the American consul applied to the governor of Fayal, to enforce the privileges of a neutral port in favour of the American ship. The governor expressed his indignation at what had passed, but was unable with his means to resist such a force. His remonstrances to the British commander were answered by an insulting refusal. On the

morning of the 27th, one of the ships took a station near the shore, and commenced a heavy cannonade on the brig. Captain Reid, finding further resistance unavailing, partially destroyed the brig, and went on shore with his crew; the British then set her on fire. In this attack not only the privileges of neutrality, but the safety of the town was wholly disregarded. Several of the inhabitants were dangerously wounded, and a number of houses destroyed.

Early in the summer, the frigates *United States* and *Macedonian* were lightened, removed several miles farther up the Thames, and dismantled. Captain Biddle, in the *Hornet*, was left in the river with orders to escape to New-York if any possible chance offered. About the middle of November, he eluded the vigilance of the blockading squadron, and anchored safe in New-York harbour. Commodore Decatur and his crew were transferred to the *President* Frigate then preparing for a cruise to the East Indian seas. The squadron destined for this expedition consisted of the *President*, the *Hornet*, the *Peacock*, the *Tom-Bowline*, and a private armed merchant brig. The ships were prepared for sea by the middle of December, but were so closely watched by a much larger squadron in the offing, that no opportunity presented of sailing, until the 13th of January, when all the ships except the *President*, succeeded in getting to sea with orders to rendezvous at the island of *Tristan d'Acunha*, on the coast of South America, and there wait the arrival of the *President*.

*Capture of the President Frigate.* On the next day Commodore Decatur attempted to go out; in passing the bar, owing to some mistake of the pilot, his ship grounded, and continued beating in that situation for two hours. She sustained so much injury that the commodore would have put back for repairs, but a strong westerly wind prevented. At ten o'clock in the evening, she cleared the bar, and proceeded a distance of fifty miles along the south shore of Long Island, and then bore away for the Brazils. At five o'clock in the morning of the 15th, three ships were discovered ahead; the commodore

immediately hauled his wind, and passed to the north of them. At day light four ships were discovered in chase, one on each quarter, and two astern; the leading ship appeared to be a razee. At noon the wind became light and baffling; the razee fell astern, but the next ship in pursuit had gained considerably on the President. Commodore Decatur then lightened the ship of every thing not necessary for immediate defence, kept his canvass constantly wet, and crowded every sail to escape. At three in the afternoon, the Endymion fifty gun ship being favoured by a good breeze came within shot, and commenced firing her bow guns. At five she obtained a position at half point blank shot on the President's starboard quarter. In this situation the Endymion was cutting up the President's sails and rigging without exposing herself to any injury. The commodore then shifted his course to the south for the purpose of bringing the Endymion abeam. The ships continued a southerly course, and closely engaged for two hours and an half, when the Endymion became dismantled, and dropped out of the action. The President then resumed her former course with a view of clearing the squadron. At eleven o'clock at night, two fresh ships, the Pomona and Tenedos, came up, and opened their fire; the Pomona on the larboard bow within musket shot, and the Tenedos taking a raking position two cables length astern. The razee and a brig which had joined the squadron, had also arrived within gun-shot. In this situation the commodore reluctantly surrendered his ship. The loss on board the President was twenty-five killed, and fifty-five wounded. She was carried into Bermuda, where the commodore and most of the officers were paroled.

*Cruise of the Hornet.* The remainder of the American squadron proceeded towards their place of rendezvous. On the 16th, the Hornet parted from the other ships; and on the 23d, near her anchoring ground, she fell in with the British sloop of war Penguin. An action commenced at forty minutes past one in the afternoon, at musket distance; at two, the

Penguin bore up apparently with the intention of boarding, and ran her bowsprit between the main and mizen rigging of the Hornet, on the starboard quarter, affording a fair opportunity to board, but no attempt was made. An incessant and destructive fire was kept up from the Hornet, until the commanding officer of the Penguin called out that he had surrendered, when Captain Biddle directed his men to cease firing. While he was on the tafferil inquiring if they had surrendered, he received a ball in the neck; the ships then separated, and while the Hornet was wearing to give a fresh broadside, they again called out from the Penguin that they had surrendered, and Captain Biddle took possession of her in just twenty-two minutes from the commencement of the action. The Penguin mounted nineteen guns, and had a complement of one hundred and thirty-two men. Her loss was fourteen killed, including their commander, Captain Dickinson; and twenty-eight wounded. The loss on board the Hornet was one killed, and eleven wounded. Captain Biddle finding it impossible, from the crippled state of his prize, to send her into the United States, ordered her to be scuttled and sunk, and proceeded to his anchorage, at the island of Tristran d'Acunha. After M'Donald, the first lieutenant of the Penguin, had repeatedly called out that he had surrendered, and the Hornet had ceased to fire, two men on board the Penguin took aim and fired at Captain Biddle, and the man at the helm; two marines on board the Hornet observing this, levelled their pieces and shot both the assassins dead.

The squadron, after waiting on the coast of Brazil, the period designated by their instructions, and not hearing from the President, sailed for the Indian ocean. In Lat.  $38\frac{1}{2}$  S., and Lon. 33 east: on the 27th of April, a British ship of the line appeared in sight, and gave chase. The American ships immediately separated, and the chase continued in pursuit of the Hornet. At nine o'clock P.M. the chase continuing to gain upon him, Captain Biddle lightened ship; by day-light on the 29th, the enemy was within gun shot on his lee quarter, and at seven,



hoisted the English Jack, and a rear admiral's flag, and commenced firing. At eleven, Captain Biddle threw overboard all his armament, and every thing that could be spared from the ship; the British continuing within fair range, and constantly firing. Fortunately the fire deadened their wind, and at sunset, they were four miles astern; at day-light the next morning, twelve miles; and at eleven o'clock, entirely out of sight. The *Hornet*, now deprived of her armament, and short of provisions, shaped her course for St. Salvador, where she heard the news of peace, and returned to New-York.

*Cruise of the Constitution.* The *Constitution*, Captain Stewart, left Boston harbour on the 17th of December, on a cruise to the western islands, and the coast of Portugal. On the 20th of February, sixty leagues eastward of Madirea, she fell in with the *Cyanne* and *Levant*, British ships. At six in the afternoon the action commenced by broadsides from all the ships at three hundred yards distance. After an action of forty-five minutes, the *Cyanne* surrendered and was taken possession of by Captain Stewart; the *Levant* at this time endeavouring to escape. Having secured his prize, Captain Stewart immediately went in pursuit of the other ship, then in sight to the leeward: at nine o'clock came up with her, and exchanged broadsides. The *Levant* then crowded all sail, the *Constitution* in chase firing her bow guns; at ten the *Levant* surrendered. The two British ships mounted fifty-five guns, and were manned with three hundred and thirty-six men. Their loss was thirty-five killed, and forty-two wounded. The *Constitution* had three killed, and twelve wounded. The British ships were just out from Gibraltar, bound to Madirea with supernumeraries, rigging, and equipments, for a British ship building at the western islands. February 21st, the three ships stood to the westward, and on the 23d made Porto Santo, one of the Madeiras, and continued under short cruising sail until the 8th of March; when they anchored in port Praya, in the Island of St. Jago. At noon, on the 12th, the British ships *Leander*, *Acasta*, and *Newcastle*, which had

been in search of the *Constitution* during her whole cruise, appeared off the harbour. Captain Stewart, apprehending that a neutral port would afford him no protection, immediately slipped his cables, and put to sea with his prizes. The British made all sail in pursuit. At one, Captain Stewart observing the *Cyanne* to fall astern, gave a signal for her to tack, and separate. Without regarding the *Cyanne*, the chase was continued after the *Constitution* and *Levant*. At three, the *Levant*, also falling astern, was ordered to tack and return to port. The British ships then gave up the chase of the *Constitution*, and pursued the *Levant* into Porto Prava, and took her, under the guns of a Portuguese fort. The *Cyanne* arrived at New-York on the 15th of April, and the *Constitution* on the 1st of May.

*General Result of the Naval War.* The number of British vessels of every description, captured and sent into port, or destroyed during the year 1814, including several taken after the conclusion, but before notice of the peace, amounted to nine hundred and four. The whole number taken during the war, exclusive of those which had been re-captured, was sixteen hundred and thirty-four, carrying three thousand one hundred and thirteen guns, and twelve thousand two hundred and fifteen men.\* The loss of these ships to the British nation, estimating each vessel, cargo, and equipments, at the time of sailing, at an average of forty thousand dollars, amounted to sixty-five millions, three hundred and sixty thousand dollars. One hundred and seventy of these captures were made by the public armed ships of the United States; the residue by privateers. Ninety-eight of these prizes were ships of war belonging to the British navy; the residue were the property of British subjects.

The British captured at sea and on the lakes during the war, twenty national armed ships, and twenty-two gun-boats. They also took or destroyed two hundred and twenty-eight

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\* Niles's Weekly Register.

American privateers. The whole number of merchant vessels captured or destroyed, amounted to thirteen hundred and ninety-eight. Seventy of these were in the British ports at the declaration of war, and there detained and made prizes; a great portion of the others were destroyed in the American ports, dismantled and without cargoes. Eighteen thousand four hundred and thirteen American seamen were made prisoners during the war, and two thousand five hundred and forty-eight detained as prisoners of war, being American seamen in British ports at the declaration of war, or impressed seamen, who refused to serve, and gave themselves up as prisoners.\* Although the number of captures on either side was nearly equal, yet as those taken from the British were sea vessels, with full cargoes, and a great portion of the Americans were mere hulls laid up in port; the balance in value was greatly in favour of the latter. Indeed, had it not have been for the unsuccessful attempt to conquer the Canadas, the citizens of America might have congratulated themselves that the war had in some measure reimbursed to them, from the spoils of the commerce of their enemies, the losses they had sustained from British aggressions.

This result of the naval war, so unexpected to Great Britain, considering the vast difference between the maritime strength of the two nations, was highly honourable to the enterprise, skill, and valour of the American marine. At the commencement of the contest, Great Britain affected to despise the American stripes, and boasted that she would in a few months drive them from the ocean. Her chagrin and disappointment was only equalled by her former pride and boasting, when she saw several of her finest frigates yield to American valour, and upwards of sixteen hundred of her ships strike their flags to a despised enemy.

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\* British Admiralty's Report to the House of Commons, February 1st. 1815.

## CHAPTER XVII.

General Wilkinson retires from the French Mills.—Affair of La Cole Mill.—State of the British and American Navy on Lake Ontario.—Attack on Oswego.—Burning of Long Point.—General Brown takes the Command on the Niagara Frontier.—Fort Erie surrenders.—Battle of Chippewa.—Death of General Swift.—Burning of St. Davids.—Battle of Niagara.—Capture of General Riall.—Exchange of General Drummond's Aid, for the Corpse of General Brown's.—General Gaines takes the Command.—Assault on Fort Erie.—Explosion.—Sortie on the British Works.—The Siege raised.—General Izard arrives with reinforcements and takes the Command. Retires from Fort Erie.—General Result of the Campaign on the Niagara.

*Northern Army remove from French Mills.* AFTER the abandonment of the Montreal expedition, General Wilkinson remained with his army at their cantonments at the French Mills until the 13th of February. At this point they were exposed to a joint attack from the British on the St. Lawrence, and at Montreal, without works of defence. There was here no other object than their own encampment to defend; they were sixty miles from their nearest dépôt of provisions, and the important posts of Sackett's Harbour and Plattsburgh were in an unprotected state. The latter was threatened with an attack from the enemy in the neighbourhood, and sent a pressing request to General Wilkinson for succours. No reason was ever assigned why, under these circumstances, this army was encamped three months at the French Mills, other than to cover the disgrace of an immediate retreat, and to amuse the country with the prospect of another expedition against Montreal in the spring, which was never intended to be executed. Towards the last of January, the commanding general began to remove his artillery and heavy baggage to Plattsburgh, and on the 13th of February, broke up his encampment, destroyed his boats, and bar-



racks, and with the main body, proceeded to that place. General Brown with one division took the route to Sackett's harbour. The British, on learning these movements, came out in force from Montreal, and pursued the first division as far as Chateaugay four corners. The snow on both routes was of three feet depth; the march was slow and fatiguing, but finally accomplished by both divisions without loss. A part of the troops were cantoned at Plattsburgh, and one division of them crossed the lake to Burlington.

*Assault on La Cole Mill.* General Wilkinson, desirous of distinguishing himself by some important manœuvre, before he left the army of the north, on the 30th of March, entered Canada a second time, with the main body, and advanced as far as Odletown, a few miles within the enemy's territory. Here he was met by the British in considerable force, had a sharp skirmish, and drove them back as far as La Cole mill. This was a large stone building, three stories high, within and behind which, the British took a position of perfect security. The American artillery, consisting of a twelve and an eighteen pounder was ordered up to dislodge them. Owing to the badness of the roads, the carriage of the latter failed, and only the lighter piece could be brought up. This was stationed in front, and within musket distance of the mill, and commenced a cannonade upon the building, which was continued an hour and a half without intermission, and without effect. Finding that no impression could be made on the mill, and that the heavy ordnance could not be brought up, the troops returned the same evening to Olde-town, and the next day to Plattsburgh. The American artillerists stood with great bravery and firmness before this fortress, directing their fire with the utmost precision against its impenetrable walls, observing every ball to hit its object, and rebound without effect. They were exposed, during the whole time, to the deliberate aim of the garrison; almost all those immediately engaged in the management of the piece, were either killed or wounded. Captain M'Pherson who com-

manded, and Lieutenant Lanohue were both dangerously wounded ; the latter shot through the breast, and the former received a wound just under the chin, which he bound up with his handkerchief, and continued at his piece until a second shot brought him to the ground. The whole American loss was eight killed, and sixty-six wounded. The British made two attempts to take the piece, but were repulsed with firmness. Their whole loss in these sorties, and in the skirmish at Odletown, was ten killed, and forty-six wounded. The stone mill expedition, if it had any other object than that of putting to the test American valour, and obtaining a laurel for the commanding general, was designed to seize and fortify Rouse's point, a position on the Sorrel river, which commanded the entrance into lake Champlain, and might prevent the British flotilla which lay below at the Isle aux Noix from entering the lake. This movement was declared to be not in pursuance of the views of the war department, and the general soon afterwards retired from the service. His conduct, during his command in the north, was subjected to the examination of a court martial ; before whom he proved that during a great part of the time while the most important measures were in operation, he acted under the immediate orders of the war department, then with the army, and of course not personally responsible ; that on General Hampton's failing to join him, who had never been called to account for disobedience of orders, it was inexpedient to make the attempt on Montreal ; that his encampment, and stay at the French mills, was agreeable to the views of the war department, and had been approved ; and that his other measures were not of that decisively unmilitary character as to deserve the censure of the court : he was therefore acquitted.

*Ship Building on Lake Ontario.* Great exertions were made both by the British and American governments, to obtain the naval ascendancy on lake Ontario. A contest in ship building on these waters commenced in 1813, and was continued during the year 1814, which, if the war had lasted,

must have progressed to an unlimited extent. Two large brigs of war, of five hundred tons each, were built, equipped, and put into service by the last of April, by the Americans. The ship *Superior*, fitted to carry sixty-six guns, was launched on the 1st of May, in eighty days from laying her keel. Equal exertions were made on the part of the British. On the 1st of June,

The American Lake navy consisted of the		The British force on the lake con- sisted of the	
Superior,	66 guns.	Prince Regent,	62 guns.
Pike,	28	Princess Charlotte,	44
Madison,	25	Wolf,	23
Jefferson,	23	Royal George,	24
Jones,	23	Melville,	22
Sylph,	22	Earl Moira,	18
Oneida,	18	Brig Prince Regent,	12
Lady of the Lake,	2	Sir Sidney Smith,	12
<hr/> 207 guns.		<hr/> 222 guns.	

In addition to these, both parties had a considerable number of gunboats and other small craft. The British had on the stocks a ship calculated for a hundred guns, and the Americans one for a hundred and twenty.

A considerable quantity of naval stores destined for the fleet, and essentially necessary to complete the armament of the *Superior*, was deposited at Oswego falls, twelve miles up the river from the old French fort at its mouth. Colonel Mitchell, with three hundred men, was ordered to the fort to cover these stores. He arrived on the 30th of April, and found it in a defenceless situation, with only five guns and but two of those mounted.

*Attack on Oswego.* Before he had time to prepare for defence, a British force, destined to destroy the stores, consisting of four large ships, three brigs, and a number of gun boats, appeared off the harbour, and at one o'clock on the 5th of May, fifteen boats filled with troops attempted to land. Co-



Jonel Mitchell, planted a battery near the shore, with which he prevented the landing, and took one of the boats. At day break the next morning, the ships anchored abreast of the fort, and commenced a cannonade which lasted three hours, while the troops effected their landing. The British landed fifteen hundred men, and were gaining the rear of the fort, when Colonel Mitchell, having withstood their attack for half an hour, being overpowered by numbers, retreated in good order to the falls. The enemy then took possession of the fort, demolished it, destroyed what stores they found therein, burned the barracks, and returned to Kingston. The American loss was six killed, and sixty-three wounded and missing. The British acknowledge a loss of nineteen killed, and seventy-five wounded. The destruction of the naval stores at the falls, the main object of the expedition, was prevented. Captain Woolsey was immediately afterwards despatched with a number of batteaux to transport these stores to Sackett's Harbour. The British, having at this time the command of the lake, and blockading the harbour, rendered this an undertaking of extreme difficulty and hazard. On the 28th of May, Captain Woolsey put the stores consisting of thirty-four heavy ship cannon, ten cables, and many light articles, on board his boats, and took them down the rapids. Having despatched a lookout boat, and being informed that there was no enemy on the coast, he proceeded to the mouth of the river. Here he distributed a guard of one hundred and fifty riflemen among the boats, and directed a company of one hundred and thirty Oneida Indians, to keep along the shore near the flotilla. Thus arranged, he proceeded to Sandy Creek, and reached it at noon of the 29th, with the loss of one boat. Here he pushed his boats two miles up the river, and on the morning of the 30th at six o'clock, the British were discovered approaching the mouth of the creek. Captain Woolsey immediately disposed of the riflemen and Indians in ambush half a mile below the boats under Major Appling. At ten the British landed and marched up the creek, at the same time pushing



along with them seven armed boats ; when they had arrived at the place of ambuscade, and in view of Woolsey's flotilla, considering their prize as certain, they gave three cheers, and were rushing on : at this instant Major Appling with his men rose upon them, and after a smart skirmish of ten minutes, captured every boat and man of the party. The fruits of this victory were seven armed boats captured, fourteen British killed, and one hundred and sixty-one prisoners, without the loss of a man on the part of the Americans.\* From this point the stores were transported by land, a distance of sixteen miles, to the harbour, and arrived on the 10th of June. The difficulties and embarrassments attending the obtaining of sufficient supplies in season, detained the fleet in the harbour until the 1st of August.

*Long Point.* At the village of Dover on Long Point, on the Canada shore of lake Erie, was a valuable set of flour mills, and a large collection of wheat and flour, from which the troops on the Niagara frontier received considerable supplies. On the 15th of May, Colonel Campbell, of the 19th infantry, with a detachment of five hundred men, crossed over from the village of Erie on the south shore of the lake, destroyed the flour, burned the mills, and the stores and dwelling-houses of the town. On General Brown's arrival at Buffalo, he ordered Colonel Campbell to be arrested, and tried by a court martial, for destroying private property of the enemy, contrary to the principles upon which the American government conducted the war. Colonel Campbell acknowledged that the expedition was undertaken on his own responsibility, without the knowledge or direction of the government. The court martial justified the destruction of the flour and the mills, as a measure necessary to prevent supplies for the army, and condemned the destruction of the dwelling-houses and other property of the citizens. In their decision,

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\* Captain Woolsey's report.

however, they remark that the citizens of Dover assisted in the burning of Buffalo, which palliated, though it did not excuse, the measure.

*Niagara Frontier.* After the desolation of the Niagara frontier in 1813, there appeared to be nothing for the parties to contend for in that quarter. No object could be obtained by a victory on either side, but the temporary occupation of a vacant territory; yet both parties seemed to have selected this as the principal theatre on which to display their military prowess in the year 1814. Lieutenant General Drummond, governor of Upper Canada, concentrated the forces of that province at fort George, and retained the possession of Niagara. The American Generals Smyth, Hampton, Dearborn, and Wilkinson, under whose auspices the campaigns of 1812 and 13, on the Canada border, were conducted, had retired from that field; and General Brown was appointed major general, and, with the assistance of Brigadiers Scott and Ripley, designated to the command of the Niagara frontier. He left Sackett's Harbour in May, with a large portion of the American troops, in consequence of which the important depôts at that place and its vicinity were exposed to attacks from Kingston. On his arrival at Buffalo, calculating upon the co-operation of the Ontario fleet, he determined on an attempt to expel the British from the Niagara peninsula. With this view he crossed the river on the 3d of July, published a declaration addressed to the inhabitants of Upper Canada, stating that all whom he found engaged in the service of the enemy, would be treated as foes; those that remained at home peaceably, following their private occupations, would be treated as friends: public property of every description would be seized and held at the disposal of the commanding general; that private property would be held sacred, and any plunderer who should be found violating his orders in this respect should suffer death.

*Fort Erie taken.* On the same day he invested fort Erie, and summoned it to surrender, allowing the commandant two

hours to answer the summons. At five in the afternoon the fort surrendered, and the prisoners, amounting to one hundred and thirty-seven, were removed to Buffalo.

*Battle of Chippewa.* On the morning of the fourth, General Scott advanced with his brigade and corps of artillery, and took a position on the Chippewa plain, half a mile in front of the village, his right resting on the river, and his front protected by a ravine. The British were encamped in force at the village. In the evening General Brown joined him with the reserve under General Ripley, and the artillery commanded by Major Hindman. General Porter arrived the next morning, with the New-York and Pennsylvania volunteers, and a number of Indians of the six nations. Early in the morning of the 5th, the British commenced a firing on the pickets. Captain Trott, who commanded one of them, hastily retreated, leaving one of his men wounded on the ground. General Brown instantly ordered him to retire from the army, and directed Captain Biddle to assume the command of the picket, lead it back to the ground, and bring off the wounded man ; which he accomplished without loss. At four in the afternoon, General Porter advanced, taking the woods in order to conceal his approach, and in the hope of bringing their pickets and scouting parties between his line of march and the American camp. In half an hour his advance met the light parties of the British in the woods on the left. These were driven in, and Porter, advancing near Chippewa, met the whole British force approaching in order of battle. General Scott, with his brigade and Towser's artillery, met them on the plain, in front of the American encampment, and was directly engaged in close action with the main body. General Porter's command gave way, and fled in every direction, by which Scott's left flank was entirely uncovered. Captain Harris, with his dragoons, was ordered to stop the fugitives, at the ravine, and form them in front of the camp. The reserve were now ordered up, and General Ripley passed to the woods in left of the line to gain the rear of the enemy ; but before this was ef-

fectcd, General Scott had compelled the British to retire. Their whole line now fell back, and were eagerly pursued by the Americans. As soon as they reached the sloping ground descending towards the village, their lines broke, and they regained their works in disorder. The American troops pursued until within reach of the guns from the works ; when they desisted and returned to their camp. The British left two hundred dead on the ground, ninety-four wounded, beside those in the early part of the action, who were removed back to the camp, and fourteen prisoners. The American loss was sixty killed, and two hundred and sixty-eight wounded and missing.\*

After the battle of Chippewa, the British retired to fort George ; and General Brown took post at Queenston, where he remained some time, expecting reinforcements and aid from Sackett's Harbour, and calculating that with them he should be able to dislodge the British, and obtain possession of the Peninsula.

*General Swift slain.* On the 12th of July, Brigadier General John Swift, of the New-York militia, with a detachment of one hundred and twenty volunteers, reconnoitred the British position and works at fort George, with a view of preparing for an investment of the fort. He surprised and took a picket guard of six men. After they were made prisoners, one of them shot the general through the body. The alarm occasioned by the discharge of this gun, immediately brought to the spot a British patrolling party of sixty. General Swift immediately formed his men, advanced at their head, and commenced a successful engagement on the patrole, when he fell exhausted by the loss of blood ; the other officers, animated by this last example of their general, continued the action, and drove the enemy into the fort. They then returned to camp, bearing their expiring commander in

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\* General Brown's report to the secretary of war.



their arms. He died the same evening, and was interred the next day with military honours.

On the 13th of July, General Brown wrote a pressing letter to Commodore Chauncey, informing him of his situation, and urging an immediate co-operation. He heard nothing from the fleet until the 1st of September, when he received an answer from the commodore, dated the 10th of August, stating that the fleet had not been in a situation to co-operate with him, that it could have afforded him no essential aid in any event; that his fleet was destined to attack the British, and not to act a subordinate part to the land forces. This produced a sharp reply from General Brown; the correspondence ended; and the general and commodore pursued their different objects without any co-operation.

*Burning of St. Davids.* On the 18th, Lieutenant Colonel Stone, was detached with a corps of volunteers to dislodge a party of British troops, who were near the village of St. Davids, four miles west of Queenston, watching and attacking the American reconnoitering parties. The British were routed and driven in; and soon after the action, the village was set fire to, and burned by some Americans, without the orders or knowledge of the commanding officer. On the next morning, Colonel Stone received an order from General Brown, stating that the accountability for burning the houses at St. Davids, must rest with the senior officer: that it was directly contrary to the orders of government, and of the commanding general. The order concludes in these words, "Lieutenant Colonel Stone will retire from the army." Whether Colonel Stone was guilty of negligence in not preventing the conflagration, does not appear. But his friends considered this proceeding, as a manifest usurpation of authority not warranted by any law; they claimed that an officer, holding a commission under the President, holds it at the pleasure of the supreme executive, and no intermediate superior officer, has a right to deprive him of his command, without the intervention of a court martial, where he may be tried

by his peers, and have an opportunity of establishing his innocence. No person fit to bear a commission, would consent to hold one subject to the disgraceful condition of a dismissal at the will of an officer a grade or two above him. This conduct of General Brown's passed without censure, and was alluded to with approbation, in a letter from the secretary of state to Admiral Cochrane.

On the 20th, General Brown advanced with his army towards fort George, drove in the outposts, and encamped near the fort, in the expectation that the British would come out and give him battle. On the 22d, he returned to his former position at Queenston; here he received a letter from General Gaines, informing him that the heavy guns, and the rifle regiment, which he had ordered from Sackett's harbour, together with the whole fleet, were blockaded in that port, and no assistance was to be expected from them. On the 24th, he fell back to Chippewa, and on the 25th, received intelligence that the enemy, having received large reinforcements from Kingston, were advancing upon him. The first brigade under General Scott, Towser's artillery, all the dragoons and mounted men, were immediately put in motion on the Queenston road.

*Battle of Niagara.* On his arrival at the Niagara cataract, General Scott learned that the British were in force directly in his front, separated only by a narrow piece of wood. Having despatched this intelligence to General Brown, he advanced upon the enemy, and the action commenced at six o'clock in the afternoon. Although General Ripley with the second brigade, Major Hendman with the corps of artillery, and General Porter with the volunteers, pressed forward with ardour; it was an hour before they could be brought up to his support, during this time his brigade alone sustained the conflict. General Scott had pressed through the wood, and engaged the British on the Queenston road, with the 9th, 11th, and 12th regiments, the 25th having been thrown on the right. The fresh troops under General Ripley, having arrived, now

advanced to relieve General Scott, whose exhausted brigade formed a reserve in the rear. The British artillery had taken post on a commanding eminence, at the head of Lundy's lane, supported by a line of infantry, out of the reach of the American batteries. This was the key of the whole position ; from hence they poured a most deadly fire on the American ranks. It became necessary either to leave the ground, or to carry this post and seize the height. The latter desperate task was assigned to Colonel Miller. On receiving the order from General Brown, he calmly surveyed the position, and answered, " I WILL TRY, SIR," which expression was afterwards the motto of his regiment. The first regiment, under the command of Colonel Nicholas, were ordered to menace the British infantry, and support Colonel Miller in the attack. This corps, after a discharge or two, gave way and left him without support. Without regarding this occurrence, Colonel Miller advanced coolly and steadily to his object, amid a tremendous fire, and at the point of the bayonet, carried the artillery and the height. The guns were immediately turned upon the enemy ; General Ripley now brought up the 23d regiment, to the support of Colonel Miller ; the first regiment was rallied and brought into line, and the British were driven from the hill. At this time Major Jessup, with the 25th regiment, was engaged in a most obstinate conflict, with all the British that remained on the field. He had succeeded in turning the British left flank. Captain Ketchum, with a detachment of this regiment, succeeded in gaining the rear of the British lines, at the point where Generals Drummond and Riall, with their suites, had taken their stations, and made them all prisoners. The British officers, mistaking this detachment for a company of their own men, were ordering them to press on to the combat, when Captain Ketchum stepped forward and coolly observed, that he had the honour to command at that time, and immediately conducted the officers and their suites, into the rear of the American lines ; General Drummond, in the confusion of the scene, made his escape. The British rallied

under the hill, and made a desperate attempt to regain their artillery, and drive the Americans from their position, but without success ; a second and third attempt was made with the like result. General Scott was engaged in repelling these attacks, and though with his shoulder fractured, and a severe wound in the side, continued at the head of his column, endeavouring to turn the enemy's right flank. The volunteers under General Porter, during the last charge of the British, precipitated themselves upon their lines, broke them, and took a large number of prisoners. General Brown, during the whole action, was at the most exposed points, directing and animating his troops. He received a severe wound on the thigh, and in the side, and would have given the command to General Scott, but on inquiring, found that he was severely wounded. He continued at the head of his troops until the last effort of the British was repulsed, when loss of blood obliged him to retire ; he then consigned the command to General Ripley. At twelve o'clock, both parties retired from the field to their respective encampments, fatigued and satiated with slaughter. The battle continued with but little intermission, from six in the afternoon, until twelve at night. After Colonel Miller had taken the battery, and driven the British from the heights, and General Riall and suite had been taken, there was a short cessation, and the enemy appeared to be about yielding the ground, when reinforcements arrived to their aid, and the battle was renewed with redoubled fury for another space of two hours ; much of this time the combatants were within a few yards of each other, and several times, officers were found commanding enemy platoons. Captain Spencer, aid to General Brown, was despatched with orders to one of the regiments ; when about to deliver them, he suddenly found himself in contact with a British corps ; with great coolness, and a firm air, he inquired what regiment is this ? On being answered, *the Royal Scots*, he immediately replied, *Royal Scots, remain as you are !* the commandant of the corps, supposing the orders came from his commanding gen-



eral, immediately halted his regiment, and Captain Spencer rode off. Colonel Miller's achievement, in storming the battery, was of the most brilliant and hazardous nature; it was decisive of the events of the battle: and entitled him, and his corps to the highest applause; most of the officers engaged in that enterprise were killed or wounded. The battle was fought to the west of, and within half a mile of the Niagara cataract. The thunder of the cannon, the roaring of the falls, the incessant discharge of musketry, the groans of the dying and wounded during the six hours in which the parties were engaged in close combat, heightened by the circumstance of its being in the night, afforded such a scene, as is rarely to be met with in the history of human slaughter. The evening was calm, and the moon shone with lustre, when not enveloped in clouds of smoke from the firing of the contending armies. Considering the numbers engaged, few contests have ever been more sanguinary.

General Drummond, soon after the battle of the 5th, had been concentrating his forces, and receiving reinforcements from Kingston, for a general attack on the American troops, and in the battle of the 25th, they were all engaged to the amount of five thousand; many of them, troops selected from the flower of the army of Lord Wellington. General Brown had failed in receiving his expected reinforcements from Sackett's Harbour; many of his Indians had left him, and most of his troops were soldiers of less than one year's experience. But the general had done every thing which his limited means could accomplish to ensure success. With the aid of General Porter, he had assembled a considerable force of militia and volunteers; his whole army may be estimated at about four thousand. With the aid of his officers, he had instructed, and infused into them a spirit of bravery and discipline, which enabled them to meet, and successfully combat British veterans. This was unquestionably the most severe and bloody battle that was fought during the war. One-fifth of the combatants on each side, were put *hors de combat*. On the American

side, the commanding general, and the second in command, were severely wounded. On the British, their commander in chief was wounded, and for a few minutes a prisoner, and the second in command severely wounded and captured. General Brown states his loss to be,

Killed,	-	-	-	-	-	-	171
Wounded,	-	-	-	-	-	-	572
Missing,	-	-	-	-	-	-	117
							<hr/>
							860

General Drummond acknowledges a loss of,

Killed,	-	-	-	-	-	-	84
Wounded,	-	-	-	-	-	-	559
Missing and Prisoners,	-	-	-	-	-	-	235
							<hr/>
							878

On the morning of the 26th, Generals Ripley and Porter reconnoitered the battle ground, and found there parties of the British on the same errand. Neither Americans nor British appeared disposed to renew the bloody scenes of the preceding night. In their official reports, both claimed the victory. But considering the number and nature of American troops compared with the British, the honours of the day unquestionably belong to the former; the latter were the first to leave the field. From the reinforcements which they had recently received from Kingston, their army after the battle was evidently superior to the American; and the latter under the command of General Ripley, on the 26th, fell back to fort Erie. General Brown retired to Buffalo, and General Scott to Batavia, to recover from their wounds. Captain Ambrose Spencer, son of the chief justice of New-York, and aid to General Brown, was mortally wounded in the action, and taken prisoner; Captain Loring, aid to General Drummond, was also made prisoner, but not wounded. Soon after the battle, General Brown received a proposition from General Drummond, for a mutual exchange of their aids. For ob-

vious reasons, it is not according to the usages of war, to offer or accept a wounded man in exchange for one who is well, but from motives of affection for his aid, and from respect to the feelings of his parents, General Brown was in this instance induced to listen to the proposition, and sent a flag to ascertain whether Captain Spencer was living. The flag was not permitted to see the prisoner, or communicate with his surgeon. On the return of the flag, General Brown sent the brother of Captain Spencer, with a note to General Drummond, introducing the brother, and requesting that he might be permitted to see and attend upon him, and assuring the general that Captain Loring, should be exchanged for Captain Spencer if living, or for his corpse if dead. The brother returned the next day with the corpse, bearing a note from General Drummond, claiming the discharge of Captain Loring; which General Brown, faithful to his engagements complied with.

*British expedition to Black Rock, repulsed.* At two o'clock in the morning of the 3d of August, a detachment of twelve hundred British, under the command of Colonel Tucker, crossed the Niagara at Squaw Island, a little below Black Rock, with a view of capturing General Brown, then confined at Buffalo with his wounds, recapturing General Riall, and destroying the stores. Major Morgan, who was stationed at the Rock with a battalion of riflemen, took a position behind Conjocta creek, destroyed the bridge, and commenced an attack on the British as soon as they arrived within rifle distance. After a conflict of two hours, the British were driven back, and compelled to recross the river, with the loss of six men taken, and several killed and wounded. On the 4th, General Gaines arrived from Sackett's Harbour, and took command of the army during the confinement of General Brown.

*Fort Erie invested.* As the Americans retired to fort Erie, the British advanced and invested the fort, taking a position two miles distant in front, and separated from it by a wood. Fort Erie is situated on the margin of the lake, at its outlet

into the Niagara river ; being nearly a horizontal plain, fifteen feet above the level of the water, it possesses no natural advantages. It was protected in front by a temporary parapet, breastworks, entrenchments, and abattes, with two batteries mounting six field pieces. This small unfinished fort, with a twenty-four, eighteen, and twelve pounder, formed the north-east ; and the Douglass battery with an eighteen, and six pounder, near the edge of the lake, the south-east angle of the right of General Gaines's position on the 13th of August. His left was defended by a redoubt battery thrown up on a small ridge with six field pieces. His rear was open to the lake, bordered by a rocky shore of easy ascent. Captain Towson's artillery was stationed at the battery on the left. The fort was defended by Captain Williams, with Major Trimble's command of the 19th infantry ; the batteries in front by Captains Biddle and Fanning. The whole of the artillery was under the command of Major Hindman. Part of the veteran first brigade, late under the command of General Scott, were posted on the right, under the command of Colonel Aspenwall. The second brigade, under General Ripley, defended the left. General Porter's brigade of New-York, and Pennsylvania volunteers, with the riflemen, occupied the centre. On the 12th, General Gaines detached Major Morgan with his corps, to cut off a working party of the British, engaged in clearing the woods, and opening an avenue to the fort ; Major Morgan was killed at the head of his detachment, and the party returned without effecting the object. The enemy succeeded in establishing their works within four hundred yards of the fort. On the evening of the 12th, they boarded and captured two schooners ; and on the morning of the 13th, commenced, and continued during the whole of that and the next day, a brisk cannonade, which was returned from the American batteries, but without any considerable effect on either side. The British having received considerable reinforcements, were preparing for an assault. At sunset on the 14th, one of their shells lodged in a small maga-



zine which blew up, but without any injurious effects. It occasioned a momentary cessation of firing, and was immediately followed by a loud shout from the British troops, which was instantly answered by the Americans ; and Captain Williams, amid the smoke of the explosion, renewed the contest by an animated discharge of the heavy artillery.

*Assault.* General Gaines, expecting an assault in the course of the night, kept his men constantly at their posts. The night was dark, and the early part of it rainy ; at two o'clock in the morning, the British columns enveloped in darkness, were distinctly heard approaching the American lines. The infantry under Major Wood, and Captain Towson's artillery opened a brisk fire upon them. The sheet of fire from this corps, enabled General Gaines to discover this column of the British, fifteen hundred strong, approaching the American left. The infantry were protected by a line of loose brush representing an abattis bordering on the river. The British in attempting to pass round this, plunged into the water breast high. The commanding general was about to order a detachment of riflemen to support Major Wood, but was assured by him that he could maintain his position without a reinforcement. The British columns were twice repulsed, and soon afterwards fled in confusion. On the right, the lines were lighted by a brilliant discharge of musketry and cannon, which announced the approach of the centre and left columns of the enemy. The latter met the veteran 9th regiment, and Burton's and Harding's companies of volunteers, aided by a six pounder, and were repulsed. The centre column under Colonel Drummond, approached at the same time the most assailable points of the fort, and with scaling ladders ascended the parapet, but were driven back with great carnage. The assault was twice repeated, and as often checked ; this column concealed by the darkness of the night, and the clouds of smoke which rolled from the cannon and musketry, then passed round the ditch, repeated their charge, reascended their ladders, and with their pikes, bayonets, and spears, fell

upon the artillerists. Most of the officers, and many of the men, received deadly wounds. Lieutenant M'Donough being severely wounded, and in the power of the enemy, surrendered and demanded quarter; Colonel Drummond, refusing it, drew a pistol and shot him dead. In a moment afterwards, as he was repeating the order to give no quarters, Colonel Drummond was shot through the heart. The bastion was now in the possession of the British. The battle raged with increased fury on the right; reinforcements were ordered and promptly furnished from Major Wood's corps on the left. Captain Fanning kept up a spirited and destructive fire from his artillery on the enemy as they were approaching the fort. Majors Hindman and Trimble, failing to drive the British from the bastion, with the remaining artillerists, and infantry, and Captain Birdsall's detachment of riflemen, rushed in through the gate-way, to the assistance of the right wing, and made a resolute charge. A detachment, under Major Hall, was introduced over the interior of the bastion, for the purpose of charging the British who still held possession, but the narrowness of the passage, admitting only two or three abreast, prevented its accomplishment, and they were obliged to retire. At this moment, every operation was arrested by the explosion of the principal magazine, containing a large quantity of cartridges and powder, in the end of a stone building adjoining the contested bastion. Whether this was the effect of accident or design, was not known. The explosion was tremendous, and its effects decisive. The British in possession of the bastion were destroyed in a moment. As soon as the tumult occasioned by that event had subsided, Captain Biddle posted a field piece, so as to enfilade the exterior plain, and the salient glacis. Fanning's battery at the same time opened on the British who were now returning. In a few minutes they were all driven from the works, leaving two hundred and twenty-two killed, one hundred and seventy-four wounded on the field, and one hundred eighty-six prisoners. To these losses are to be added, those

killed on the left flank by Major Wood's infantry, and Towson's artillery, and floated down the Niagara, estimated in the official reports, at two hundred. The American loss during the bombardment of the 13th and 14th, was nine killed, and thirty-six wounded, and in the assault of the night of the 14th, seventeen killed, fifty-six wounded, and eleven missing.\*

On the 2d of September, General Brown had so far recovered of his wounds as to be able to resume the command; and General Gaines was removed to Philadelphia to take charge of the defence of the Delaware, as commanding general of the 4th military district. General Drummond's main body was encamped in a cleared field, surrounded with woods, two miles in front of fort Erie. This position was taken in order that that part of his force which was not on duty might be out of the reach of the guns of the fort, and of the artillery at Black Rock. His infantry was formed into three brigades of twelve hundred men each; his works were advanced within four hundred yards of the right of the American lines. One of the brigades, with a detachment of artillery, was stationed at this advance, and relieved by one of the other brigades each day, and the two at the encampment were held in constant readiness to support the advance, in case of an attack. The British had completed two batteries at this position, and nearly finished a third, which threatened the fort with destruction.

*Sortie.* Early on the morning of the 17th, General Porter, with a large detachment, was ordered to penetrate through the woods by a circuitous rout, and get between the British main body and their batteries; while General Miller was directed to take a position in the ravine, between the American lines and the batteries, and attack them in front. The advance of General Porter's command, consisted of two hundred riflemen, under Colonel Gibson. The right column, of

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\* General Gaines's report.

four hundred infantry, commanded by Colonel Wood ; the left, under General Davis, of five hundred militia, designed to act as a reserve ; and to hold in check any reinforcements from the British main body. General Porter's corps carried the block-house in the rear of the third battery, by storm, the magazine was blown up, and the garrison made prisoners. The leaders of the three divisions under General Porter, all fell nearly at the same time ; Colonel Gibson, at the head of the riflemen, at the second battery, and General Davis, and Colonel Wood, in an assault upon the first. While these transactions were taking place in the rear of the enemy's works, General Miller in front, penetrated between the first and second batteries, and aided by the operations of General Porter in the rear, succeeded in carrying them. Within thirty minutes from the commencement of the action, two batteries, two block-houses, and the whole line of entrenchments were in possession of the Americans ; and immediately afterwards, the other battery was abandoned by the British. General Ripley was now ordered up with the reserve, and at the close of the action, was dangerously wounded in the neck. Strong reinforcements from the British main body arrived while the Americans were engaged in destroying the works, and took part in the action. The object of the sortie being fully accomplished, the American troops were ordered to return to the fort. During the action, General Porter, in passing from the right to the left column of his detachment, accompanied with only two or three officers, suddenly found himself within a few yards of a body of sixty British soldiers, who had just emerged from a ravine, and were hesitating which way to go. The general immediately advanced, and ordered them to surrender ; approaching the first man on the left, he took his musket, and pushed him towards the American lines : in this way he proceeded nearly through the whole company, most of the men voluntarily throwing down their arms, and retiring towards the fort :



when on a sudden, a soldier, whose musket the general was about to seize, presented the bayonet to his breast, and demanded *his* surrender. General Porter seized the musket, and was about wrenching it from him, when he was seized by a British officer, and three or four men who stood in the ranks, and thrown on the ground. He succeeded in gaining his feet, when he found himself surrounded by fifteen or twenty men, with their guns presented at him, demanding his surrender; by this time, several American officers, with a number of men were advancing to the scene of action. General Porter, now assuming an air of composure, and decision, told them they were now surrounded and prisoners, and if they fired a gun they should all be put to the sword. By this time a company of Cayuga riflemen had arrived, and after a momentary scene of confusion and carnage, the whole British party were killed, or made prisoners. The American loss was seventy-nine killed, and four hundred and thirty-two wounded and missing. The killed and wounded of the British, were estimated by the American general at five hundred. Three hundred and eighty-five prisoners were taken; their advance works destroyed, and the garrison relieved from any further apprehensions of bombardment or assault. On the night of the 21st, General Drummond, after an investment of fifty-six days, raised the siege of fort Erie, broke up his encampment, and retired to his entrenchments behind the Chippewa.

*General Izard takes the Command.* The Niagara frontier was treated, throughout this campaign, as the most important point. General Izard, who commanded the army at Plattsburgh, had been ordered with the main body, early in August to reinforce General Brown; he proceeded to Sackett's Harbour, and not deeming it safe to venture his troops by water, continued his route by land, with the main body, to his place of destination. After a fatiguing march of more than four hundred miles, over bad roads, he arrived at Buffalo on the 1st of October: being the senior major general, the command devolved on him, and General Brown took the command at

the harbour. This change of the commanding generals was unfavourable to further operations on the frontier. General Brown had obtained an adequate knowledge of the country, and the perfect confidence of his troops; General Izard was a stranger to both.

*Retires to Buffalo.* After the departure of General Brown, General Izard, on examining the position of fort Erie, and comparing, as well as he was able, the relative strength of the two armies, decided that it was inexpedient to attempt further offensive operations on the Peninsula, removed the troops from fort Erie to Buffalo, and demolished the works. General Scott, on recovering his wounds, was appointed to the command of the 10th military district, embracing the district of Columbia, and the adjacent country.

The campaign of eighteen hundred and fourteen, on the Niagara frontier, fully demonstrated that American citizens furnished the choicest materials for an army; that when well disciplined, instructed in the art of war, and led by brave and enterprising generals, they were fully able to meet on equal ground the best English troops. The same events fully proved the valour, enterprise, and military skill of General Brown, and the officers associated with him in the war, and retrieved the tarnished reputation of the American arms, on the Canada border, the two preceding campaigns. They also furnished abundant materials to amuse and flatter the citizens with the relation of deeds of heroic valour. They weakened the numerical strength of the British army about three thousand, and the Americans nearly the same; and left both parties in possession of the same ground, which they occupied at the commencement of the campaign.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

Colonel Crogan's Expedition to Lake Huron.—Unsuccessful attempt on Michillimackinac.—Destroys the British Post at Nautawesago River.—Returns to Detroit.—Capture of two American Schooners on Lake Huron.—Arrival of Reinforcements at Quebec.—General Izard's army leaves Plattsburgh for Niagara.—General Prevost advances in force from Montreal towards Plattsburgh.—Enters Plattsburgh, and encamps on the left of the Saranac.—Waits the approach of his fleet.—Naval battle on the 11th of September, on the Bay of Plattsburgh.—M'Donough's Victory.—Simultaneous Attack on the American lines.—British attempt to cross the Saranac; are repulsed.—Retreat of the British Army from Plattsburgh.—Amount of the British and American Land and Naval Forces.—Losses in each Army, and Navy.

*Expedition to Lake Huron.* For the security of Detroit, and the Michigan territory, General M'Arthur, commandant of the 8th military district, directed the establishment of a military post, called fort Gratiot, at the head of the straits of St. Clair, to secure the communication between Detroit and lake Huron. A squadron of five small vessels, under Commodore St. Clair, left Detroit about the first of July with a detachment of five hundred troops, under Lieutenant Colonel Crogan, the gallant defender of fort Stevenson, passed the straits, and entered lake Huron on the 11th, taking with them the principal part of the garrison of fort Gratiot. They first proceeded to the British post of St. Joseph's, at the entrance of lake Superior; finding this post evacuated, they set fire to it, and proceeded to fort Michillimackinac, which they found strongly garrisoned. The British, Canadians, and Indians came out in numbers greatly superior to the Americans, attacked, and drove them back to their ships



with the loss of Major Holmes, the second in command, and twelve privates killed, and fifty-one wounded.

While the navigation of lake Erie was in the possession of the Americans, the channel of communication between Montreal and lake Superior, Michillimackinac and the British posts, to the north-west, was by the way of lake Simcoe and the Nautawesago river, to lake Huron. From the British dépôt at York, to the mouth of this river, the distance did not exceed one hundred and eighty miles; much of the way was water passage for canoes and small boats; the British had here established a post, where considerable supplies for the north-west were deposited; these were to be transported in small vessels across lake Huron, to their places of destination. After Colonel Crogan's unsuccessful attempt on Michillimackinac, he proceeded to this place, and arrived at the mouth of the river on the 3d of August. Here he found a British schooner drawn a few hundred yards up the river, and protected by a battery covered by a block-house. On the 14th, he landed his artillery and drew it up near the block-house, and commenced a fire, which in a few minutes blew up the British works, and set fire to the schooner. On the 15th, he left the river and returned to Detroit, leaving two small vessels under the command of Lieutenant Turner, on lake Huron, to intercept the communication with the north-western posts, with orders to remain there as long as the navigation was open, and strictly blockade the Nautawesago. Lieutenant Worsly, who commanded the British schooner that had been burned, with twenty-two men, coasted round the lake in canoes, and reached Michillimackinac. While Lieutenant Turner commanded the navigation of lake Huron, the British posts to the west were suffering for the want of supplies, and must have soon surrendered. Lieutenant Worsly applied to the commandant at Michillimackinac, for the aid of one hundred men, assuring him that with them he would bring in the American schooners. The men were furnished, both schoo-

ers captured, and carried into Michillimackinac. An uninterrupted communication was again opened from the depôts at York and Montreal, to the western posts, and the important objects of Colonel Crogan's expedition defeated.

*Arrival of reinforcements at Montreal.* About the 1st of August, the powerful reinforcements which had been ordered from the armies in Spain, to Governor Prevost's aid, arrived at Quebec, and were immediately pushed up to Montreal. Large detachments passed on to Kingston, and the Niagara frontiers. These demonstrations induced the order for General Izard to proceed to join General Brown, with the main body. While the army were making this movement the only opportunities for their active service were lost. Their brethren at Plattsburgh and Niagara were gathering laurels at the expense of much blood, while they were performing this circuitous march. Plattsburgh was the principal military and naval depôt for the army of the north, and the flotilla on lake Champlain; and at this period, contained a large quantity of military and naval stores. The defence of this post, after the departure of General Izard, devolved on General Macomb, with fifteen hundred regulars, and the neighbouring militia to be occasionally called on, as circumstances might render necessary. The force under General Prevost, at Montreal, within five days' march of Plattsburgh, at the time General Izard left that post for the Niagara frontier, was fifteen thousand men, most of them veterans of the armies of Spain. This state of things did not escape the observation of the British general. Immediately after the departure of Izard, Prevost came out with his whole force from Montreal, and took the road to Plattsburgh. On the 1st of September, he established his headquarters at Champlain, within the United States, and fifteen miles distant from the American lines. Here he issued a proclamation in the usual style of invading generals, promising peace and protection to the unoffending inhabitants who remained at home, directing the civil magistrates to continue in the discharge of their duties; and declaring that those only

who were found in arms should be treated as enemies. His instructions directed him to penetrate the United States by the way of Plattsburgh ; with the assistance of the fleet, which it was calculated by this time would have gained the command of the lake ; proceed to Ticonderoga, and from thence to Albany, or as far on the rout as was compatible with the safety of his army.

*British Force advance to Plattsburgh.* In pursuance of these instructions, he advanced with slow and cautious marches towards Plattsburgh. General Macomb made every exertion to impede his progress, and prepare for the threatened attack. The militia of Washington, Warren, Clinton, and Essex counties, were ordered out *en masse*. The militia and volunteers from the counties in Vermont, bordering on the lake, came in in great numbers. The bridges on the route which the British must take, were broken up, the road abatted, and every possible impediment thrown in the way of their passage. On the 6th of September, the British advance was met at Bate-mantown, six miles from Plattsburgh by a corps of seven hundred militia under General Mooers. After some slight skirmishing, the militia discovered the New-York state dragoons, a very handsome corps in red uniforms, reconnoitering on the heights in their rear ; supposing them to be British troops who were endeavouring to cut them off, they broke and fled in every direction ; and on the same day the British advanced into Plattsburgh ; the right column led by Major General Powers, supported by General Robinson, and the left by General Brisbane. The whole under command of Sir George Prevost. The American troops retired to the south side of the Saranac, took up the bridges, and made breastworks of them on the south bank, and guarded the ford-ways.

The village of Plattsburgh is pleasantly situated on the western shore of lake Champlain, on the margin of a bay, formed by the projection of Cumberland point into the lake. At the end of this point, is a high bluff, called Cumberland

head. The Saranac river comes in from the west, passes through the village, and empties into the bay. Several bridges were erected over this river, near the village; and three miles from its mouth, the river was fordable. Scouting and reconnoitering parties were constantly kept out on the British flanks to harass their march, and watch their motions. The American troops were posted in their works on the high grounds, on the south bank of the Saranac. General Macomb employed his men constantly in strengthening these works; in order to excite emulation among them, he parcelled out different parts of the works to different corps, assuring them that the defence of that particular portion of the works on which each corps laboured, should be intrusted to them.

*Naval Battle on Lake Champlain.* The American fleet, under Commodore M'Donough, lay at anchor in the bay, on the right flank of the American lines, and two miles distant. Great exertions had been made by both parties to produce a superior naval force on this lake; the Americans at Otter Creek, and the British at the Isle aux Noix. On comparing their relative strength on the 11th of September, the American fleet consisted of the Saratoga, flag ship, mounting 26 guns; Eagle, 20 guns; Ticonderoga, 17 guns; Preble, 7 guns; six galleys, of two guns each, 12 guns; four of one, 4 guns; making in the whole, 86 guns: and eight hundred and twenty men. The British fleet consisted of the frigate Confiance, flag ship, mounting 39 guns; Linnet, 16 guns; Cherub, 11 guns; Finch, 11 guns; five galleys, of two guns each, 10 guns; eight, of one, 8 guns, making in the whole 95 guns: and one thousand and twenty men.

The British land forces employed themselves from the 7th to the 11th, in bringing up their heavy artillery; and strengthening their works on the north bank of the Saranac. Their fortified encampment, was on a ridge a little to the west of the town, their right near the river, and their left resting on the lake, one mile in the rear of the village. Having determined on a simultaneous attack by land and water, they lay in this



position on the morning of the eleventh, waiting the approach of their fleet. At eight o'clock, the wished for ships appeared under easy sail, moving round Cumberland head; and were hailed with joyous acclamations. At nine they anchored within three hundred yards of the American squadron in line of battle; the *Confiance* opposed to the *Saratoga*, the *Linnet* to the *Eagle*; thirteen British galleys to the *Ticonderoga*, *Preble*, and a division of the American galleys. The *Cherub* assisting the *Confiance* and *Linnet*, and the *Finch* aiding the galleys. In this position, the weather being perfectly clear and calm, and the bay smooth, the whole force on both sides became at once engaged. At an hour and a half, after the commencement of the action, the starboard guns of the *Saratoga* were nearly all dismantled. The commandant ordered a stern anchor to be dropped, and the bower cable cut, by means of which, the ship rounded to, and presented a fresh broad side to her enemy. The *Confiance* attempted the same operation and failed. This was attended with such powerful effects, that she was obliged to surrender in a few minutes. The whole broadside of the *Saratoga*, was then brought to bear on the *Linnet*, and in fifteen minutes she followed the example of her flag ship. One of the British sloops struck to the *Eagle*; three galleys were sunk, and the rest made off; no ship in the fleet being in a condition to follow them, they escaped down the lake. There was no mast standing in either squadron, at the close of the action, to which a sail could be attached. The *Saratoga* received fifty-five round shot in her hull, and the *Confiance* one hundred and five. The action lasted without any cessation, on a smooth sea, at close quarters, two hours and twenty minutes. In the American squadron fifty-two were killed, and fifty-eight wounded. In the British, eighty-four were killed, and one hundred and ten wounded. Among the slain was the British commandant, *Commodore Downie*.\* This engagement was in full view of

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\* *Commodore McDonough's letter to the secretary at war.*

both armies, and of numerous spectators collected on the heights, bordering on the bay, to witness the scene. It was viewed by the inhabitants with trembling anxiety, as success on the part of the British, would have opened to them an easy passage into the heart of the country, and exposed a numerous population on the borders of the lake, to British ravages. When the flag of the *Confiance* was struck, the shores resounded with the acclamations of the American troops, and citizens. The British when they saw their fleet completely conquered, were dispirited, and confounded.

At the moment of the commencement of the naval action, the British, from their works on shore, opened a heavy fire of shot, shells, and rockets, upon the American lines. This was continued with little interruption until sun-set, and returned with spirit and effect. At six o'clock, the firing on the part of the British ceased, every battery having been silenced by the American artillery. At the commencement of the bombardment, and while the ships were engaged, three desperate efforts were made by the British to pass the Saranac, for the purpose of carrying the American lines by assault. With this view, scaling ladders, fascines, and every implement necessary for the purpose, were prepared. One attempt was made to cross, at the village bridge, one at the upper bridge, and one at the ford way, three miles above the works. At each point, they were met at the bank by the American troops and repulsed. At the bridges, the American regulars immediately drove them back. The ford was guarded by the volunteers and militia. Here a considerable body of British effected a passage, and the militia retired into the neighbouring woods, where their operations would be more effectual. A whole company of the 76th regiment was here destroyed, three lieutenants, and twenty-seven men taken, and the captain and the rest of the company killed. The residue of the British were obliged to recross the river with precipitation and considerable loss.

*British retire from Plattsburgh.* At dusk the British withdrew their cannon from the batteries; at nine, sent off all the artillery and baggage for which they could procure transports; and at two the following morning, the whole army precipitately retreated, leaving their sick and wounded behind. Great quantities of provisions, tents, entrenching tools, and ammunition, were also left. Much was found concealed in the ponds and creeks, and buried in the ground. Their retreat was so sudden, rapid, and unexpected, that they arrived at Chazy, a distance of eight miles, before their departure was known to the American general. The light troops and militia were immediately ordered out in pursuit, but were unable to make many prisoners. Upwards of three hundred deserters came in within two or three days after the action, who confirmed the account of Prevost's precipitate flight, and assisted in discovering the property they had concealed and left behind. The American loss on land, during the day, was thirty-seven killed, and eighty-two wounded and missing. General Macomb's official report estimates the British loss in land and naval forces, since their leaving Montreal, in killed, wounded, prisoners, deserters, and missing, at twenty-five hundred.\*

The British army engaged in this expedition, consisted of the

1st Brigade under Major General Robinson,	-	3,700
2d under General Powers,	- - -	3,600
3d under General Brisbane,	- - -	3,100

A light brigade, consisting of a

Swiss regiment,	- - - - -	1,200
Canadian Chasseurs,	- - - - -	900
Valtiguers,	- - - - -	550
Frontier light infantry,	- - - - -	150
		— 2,800

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\* General Macomb's letter to secretary at war.

4 troops of light dragoons,	-	-	-	-	300
4 companies of royal light artillery,	-	-	-	-	400
1 corps of rocketeers,	-	-	-	-	25
and a corps of sappers and miners,	-	-	-	-	75

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14,000

Major-General Baynes, adjutant-general; Sir Sidney Beckwith, quarter-master-general; the whole division under the immediate command of Major-General De Rottenburgh, and Sir George Prevost, commander in chief.

The precipitate retreat of so numerous, and well appointed an army from before a force of fifteen hundred regulars, and three thousand militia suddenly called together, was unaccountable and wholly unexpected. General Prevost endeavours to justify himself to his government, by imputing it to the loss of the fleet. But no active co-operation was or could be expected from their respective fleets by either army. The real ground was, that the valour of the American troops in defence of their soil had convinced the British general that an attempt to penetrate the country, and carry his original plans into effect, would be attended with defeat and disgrace.

The events of the 11th of September, put an end to further offensive operations on the part of the British, on the Champlain frontier. Their main army returned to Montreal, and their outposts gave very little further disturbance during the residue of the campaign. These events relieved the surrounding country from the most alarming apprehensions. When they saw an army like that of General Prevost's invading their country, and General Izard, with the flower of the northern army, on whom their hopes rested, leaving Plattsburgh for the Niagara frontier, almost at the same moment, they considered their destiny as sealed. But instead of desponding, they turned out at the call of their government, nobly and successfully defended their territory, and drove the enemy from their borders. Their joy at so sudden and unexpected a termination of their apprehensions, was un-



bounded. M'Donough, Macomb, and the brave officers and soldiers by whose skill and valour their deliverance was achieved, were honoured and their deeds celebrated with the highest applause. The principal officers were rewarded with promotions. Macomb was immediately brevetted by the President with the grade of major-general, and M'Donough promoted to a more important command in the navy. On the 14th, General Macomb, having ascertained that the British troops had entirely left the American territory and were withdrawing to Montreal, discharged the New-York and Vermont militia and volunteers with high encomiums for their gallant and active services. Prevost retired to Quebec, was dismissed from his command, and disgraced by the government.

*General Result of the War on the Canada Border.* Active operations on the Canada border, terminated in the autumn of 1814. The war undertaken for the conquest of the Canadas, ended in leaving both parties nearly in the same situation as it found them at its commencement. It left the Americans in possession of Malden and the adjacent territory, and the British of Niagara. Human suffering by the conflagrations of the villages of Newark, Dover, and St. Davids, was more than balanced by the destruction of the American towns on the Niagara frontier. The sum of human slaughter in the various battles was nearly equal; the balance of prisoners was considerably in favour of the British. Estimating one-third of the war expenditures to have been applied to this object, it cost the United States upwards of thirty millions of dollars. This sum, according to an estimate of the secretary of the navy, assisted by experienced ship-builders and naval officers, of the cost of building, equipping and manning a seventy-four, would have been sufficient to have built, equipped, manned, and kept in service one year sixty ships of the line of that size. Had one-fourth of this sum been applied to that object, and a considerable portion of the other to procuring smaller fast sailing vessels of war, to operate upon British commerce; it would have been sufficient to have

effectually guarded the coast, swept their commerce from the ocean, and taught them to respect American maritime rights. The events of the Canada war have developed some important principles in the structure of the American government. It was early perceived, that the militia, the physical force of the union, were not bound by the constitution, nor were they to be depended on as volunteers, to go beyond the limits of the United States, for the purposes of conquest. It was soon found that voluntary enlistment was wholly inadequate to raise an army sufficient for the purposes of foreign war ; and it was finally demonstrated, that, although the power of declaring war, vested in congress by the constitution, might imply a power of raising armies by conscription, or compulsory proceedings, yet such a measure was so repugnant to the feelings of a free people, that resort could be had to it, only for the purposes of defence. Singular as the fact may appear, the Americans, with a naval force, not equal to a twentieth part of the British, were able to capture the most vessels, and do their antagonists the most harm on the ocean ; while on land they were unable to conquer a single British province, not the twentieth part their equal. The American politician believing in a superior agency, reads in this result, the language of a superintending Providence, commanding the United States to maintain their rights with energy, and abstain from views of conquest.

## CHAPTER XIX.

New-Orleans.—Proceedings at Pensacola.—Arrival of a British Naval Force at that place.—Nicholl's Address to the Louisianians.—Negotiations with the Pirates of Barrataria.—Commodore Patterson's Expedition against them.—Unsuccessful Expedition against Mobile.—General Jackson enters Pensacola with a Military Force; expels the British.—Armament Sails from the West Indies against New-Orleans.—Nicholl's Embassy to the Choctaws.—General Jackson's Arrival; proclaims Martial Law.—Measures of Defence.—Fort St. Philips garrisoned.—Arrival of the British Armament at Ship Island.—Capture of the American Flotilla on Lake Bergne.—Landing of the British at Bayou Bienvenu.—Battle of the 23d of December.—Of the 1st of January.—Decisive Victory of the 8th.—Bombardment of Fort St. Phillips.—Retreat of the British.—Capture of Fort Boyer.

THE defence of the 7th military district, comprehending the states of Tennessee, and Louisiana, and the Mississippi territory, was intrusted to General Jackson. After subduing the Creeks, and granting them peace on such terms as he thought proper, under the direction of the President, he proceeded to establish strong garrisons at the various military posts in the Mississippi territory, the object of which was to watch and check any hostile movements of the Indians.

*Conduct of the Spanish Authorities at Pensacola.* From the commencement of Indian hostilities in the south, the Spanish authorities in Florida, had given the hostile tribes all the aid and encouragement in their power, and had suffered the British to supply them, through the posts and territories of the Floridas, with the means of carrying on their warfare. After the defeat of the Creeks, M'Queen, and Francis, the two principal instigators of the massacre at fort Mimms, and the subsequent war, took refuge at Pensacola, under the protection of the Spanish governor. A considerable quantity of

arms for the use of the hostile Indians, which were collecting in the Floridas, and on the borders of the United States, were suffered to be landed, and conveyed up the Apalachicola river, to enable them to renew their hostilities. Against this conduct of the Spanish government, General Jackson urged the most strong and pointed remonstrances; but received nothing but evasive and unsatisfactory answers: while a continuance of the same course of proceedings, gave abundant evidence of the weakness and partiality of the Spanish authorities.

*Arrival of a British Armament.* On the 25th of August, the *Hermes*, *Orpheus*, and *Carvian*, three British ships of war, arrived at Pensacola, and landed a large quantity of military stores and provisions, and three hundred troops, which were conducted to the Spanish fort. This armament conducted by Edward Nicholl, who bore a Colonel's commission in the British service, and was expressly authorized to engage the Florida Indians in acts of hostility against the United States, was destined to unite with them for these objects.

*Nicholl's Address.* On the 29th, Nicholl published an address to the native inhabitants of Louisiana, stating that he was at the head of a large British and Indian force, and calling upon them to assist in liberating their paternal soil, from a faithless and corrupt government, declaring that the American usurpation must, and would be abolished; and that in such a happy event, they would have no fear of taxes imposed to support an unnatural and unjust war, and declaring that the brave men under his command, burned with an ardent desire to unite with the patriotic Louisianians, to liberate the southern frontier from the American yoke, and drive the Americans within the limits prescribed them by the British sovereign. This proclamation had the effect of seducing a few deluded, and desperate Louisianians to Nicholl's standard. This armament was supplied with provisions at Pensacola, principally from New-Orleans. The merchants of that city, who had had the provisions from the upper country for a considerable



time on hand, eagerly sought this market. A brisk trade, very lucrative to the New-Orleans merchant, was carried on between that city and Pensacola; by means of which the British became possessed of accurate information respecting its strength, resources, means of defence, and most assailable points. They also were enabled to obtain abundant supplies from the city itself, for the army and navy destined for its destruction. General Jackson, who, when an important object was to be obtained, never doubted his constitutional powers, immediately arrested this intercourse; and prohibited all commerce between the two places.

*Pirates of Barrataria.* Nicholl's next effort was to form a treaty between the British government, and a gang of pirates established at Barrataria, and several other small islands near the mouth of the Mississippi. On these islands, or rather sand-banks, about forty miles to the westward of the Balize, and near the Louisiana shore, a desperate band of pirates had seated themselves, and under the Carthaginian flag, but without authority or countenance from any government, were committing depredations on all vessels that came within their reach. They had been suffered to continue here for about two years, and had accumulated a force of fifteen or twenty small vessels, and eight hundred men, deserters and fugitives of every description, and of all nations and colours. Their leader was a renegado Frenchman, by the name of Lafitte; they had fortified themselves with twenty pieces of cannon, and were enriching themselves with an indiscriminate plunder of British, Spanish, French, and American vessels. To this horde of pirates, the British commandant from Pensacola, addressed himself, proposing to take them into service, promising to their chief the rank and pay of captain, and to his followers, lands in the conquered colonies in proportion to their rank and meritorious services.

With this address, Commodore Piercy, commandant of the British squadron at Pensacola, despatched captain Locker in the *Sophia* to Barrataria, demanding of Lafitte the restitu-

tion of British vessels and property in his possession; and threatening destruction to his establishment, in case of refusal; at the same time proposing to him to unite with them in the war against the United States, and promising to him and his followers security to their establishment, the blessings of the British constitution, and lands to their satisfaction at the conclusion of the war: In return for these advantages, their armed vessels and crews were to be taken into the British service, and for which they were to be remunerated. They were also required to cease all hostilities against the Spaniards, and restore all Spanish property in their possession. The pirates rejected these terms, and the British failed of obtaining the aid of these allies. While these negotiations were going on between the Barratarians and the British, the American government took a different, and more effectual course with the pirates. On the 11th of September, Commodore Patterson, commandant of the American squadron at New-Orleans, sailed out of the Mississippi at the southwest passage, and on the 16th, appeared before Barrataria with six gunboats, a launch, a tender and the schooner *Caroline*. At nine o'clock, A. M. the pirates were seen forming their vessels, ten in number, in line of battle near the entrance of their harbour. Commodore Patterson having learned that there was a considerable number of deserters among the pirates from the American army and navy, who were desirous of returning to their duty, if they could be assured of a pardon, hoisted a large white flag at the mainmast, bearing the words, **PARDON TO DESERTERS**, in capitals. At half past eleven, the commodore entered the harbour after grounding several times, and drew up near the pirates, when he perceived that they had abandoned their vessels, set fire to two of their best schooners, and were flying in every direction. He immediately took possession of their navy, consisting of six schooners, one felucca, one brig, and two other armed schooners under the Carthaginian flag; comprising all the cruisers and prizes of the pirates then in port. At the

same time, Colonel Ross, with a detachment of seventy men of the 44th regiment, who accompanied Commodore Patterson, landed, and took possession of and destroyed their establishment on shore, consisting of about forty houses of different sizes, badly constructed, and thatched with Palmetto leaves. On the 20th, Commodore Patterson captured another vessel coming into the harbour, bearing the Carthaginian flag, and belonging to the pirates. On the 23d, the whole squadron now consisting of seventeen sail, got under weigh, entered the south-west passage on the 24th, and on the 1st of October arrived at New-Orleans without the loss of a man. This expedition entirely annihilated this piratical establishment. The gang dispersed themselves in various directions many who had deserted from the American army and navy returned to New-Orleans, received the President's pardon, and distinguished themselves in the defence of that city.

*Expedition against fort Boyer.* The next object of the British land and naval forces at Pensacola, was fort Boyer, on Mobile point, at the entrance of the bay. This fort was erected by the Americans after they had taken possession of the town and territory of Mobile, in the year 1812, to protect the navigation of the bay and river. It is situated on a bluff point, which commands the main entrance, opposite Dauphine Island, at the mouth of the bay; and was garrisoned by one hundred and fifty-eight men, under the command of Major Lawrence. At noon, on the 15th of September, the British squadron from Pensacola, under Commodore Piercy, appeared before the fort, and commenced an attack: the action continued without intermission until seven, when one of the ships, and two brigs were driven off. The commodore's ship *Hermes*, mounting twenty-two thirty-two pounders, anchored nearest the battery. Her cable was cut by a shot from the fort, and being otherwise much damaged, she drifted on shore, was set fire to and abandoned by her crew, and blew up. The forces under Captain Woodbine, consisting of one hundred marines, and two hundred Creek Indians, land-

ed and erected a battery in the rear of the fort. This was silenced, and the troops dispersed by a few grape-shot. The whole armament the next day left the ground and returned to Pensacola.

This establishment of the British in the Floridas, so convenient for them to supply the Indians, and encourage their hostilities, and so injurious to the United States, General Jackson determined on his own responsibility to break up. The Spanish authorities claimed that national law regards neutral territory as inviolable, admits no hostile acts between the belligerents, nor permits either to pursue or attack the other thereon. The same principles allow the neutral to open his ports and harbours equally to both belligerents. While therefore Spain did not refuse the same accommodation to the Americans, she could not be accused of a breach of neutrality in permitting the British to rendezvous at Pensacola, however injurious it might be to the interests of the United States. To this it was answered that as she had not caused her rights as a neutral to be respected by the British in the case of the *Essex* at Valparaiso, but had suffered them to be grossly violated, to the injury of the Americans; she could not now complain if they availed themselves of the same privilege of attacking their enemy while on her territory. What course it might be expedient to pursue in relation to this subject was a question, exclusively for the American government to determine.

*Pensacola taken by General Jackson.* Without waiting however for this determination, General Jackson, on the 6th of November, appeared before the town of Pensacola with the regulars of the 3d, 39th, and 44th regiments of infantry, part of General Coffee's brigade, the Mississippi dragoons, part of the west Tennessee regiment, and the Choctaws under Major Blue. On his approach, he sent Major Pierce with a flag, to communicate the object of his visit to the governor. As the flag approached fort St. George, then occupied by British and Spanish troops, it was fired upon and compelled to re-



turn. The Americans encamped on the west of the town, and in order to induce a belief that the attack would commence on that quarter, the mounted men were paraded and sent out on the morning of the 7th. While the attention of the British was directed to them, the main body passed in rear of the fort to the east side of the town, where they appeared in full view, at a mile's distance. In this position there was a strong fort in possession of the British ready to assail them on the right, seven armed ships on the left, and strong block-houses and batteries in front. General Jackson led on his men with firmness, and entered the town, when a battery opened upon his centre column composed of the regulars, with ball and grape, while at the same time they were assailed by a shower of musketry from the houses and gardens. Captain Leval with his company, immediately stormed and took the battery, while the enemy's musketry were silenced by a steady and well directed fire of the regulars. The governor now came out, and met Colonels Williamson and Smith, who led the dismounted volunteers, with a flag, and surrendered the town and fort unconditionally. The fort was taken possession of at twelve o'clock at night; and protection granted to the persons and property of the citizens of the town. On the morning of the 8th, General Jackson was preparing to storm the Barancas, a fortress six miles from the town, which commanded the entrance of the harbour, and in the hands of the Americans could have enabled them to prevent the escape of the British ships, when a tremendous explosion gave notice that the fortress with its appendages was blown up. To save the shipping, the British had compelled the Spaniards to consent to the destruction of this post, the most important in the Floridas. A detachment of two hundred men were sent to examine the ruins, who reported that every thing combustible was burned, the cannon spiked and dismounted and the British gone to their ships. At the approach of General Jackson, the hostile Indians fled across the bay. The American general, having assured the Spaniards that any injury done to

private property should be compensated by the American government, withdrew his troops from the Spanish territory, and returned to Tensaw on the 13th of November, leaving a strong impression of the bravery and firmness of the American troops.

The success of this enterprise, and its beneficial effects to the United States, precluded all inquiry into the real character of the transaction. It was in effect making war upon Spain, by an American general, without the authority of Congress, or the executive. Under other circumstances, it might have involved the country in war with that nation, or the government must have disavowed the transaction, dismissed the general, and made restitution. But Spain was at this time in no condition to resist either British or American aggressions.

*New-Orleans.* Towards the close of the year 1814, the attention of the British and Americans, was drawn from all minor operations of the war, to the attack and defence of New-Orleans. This city is situated on the east bank of the Mississippi, one hundred miles from its mouth. Forty miles up the river, is Detour Plaguemine, where there is a considerable bend in the river, so that the same wind which brings a ship into this bend, will not serve to carry it further up. Fort St. Phillips, is erected on a point of land formed by this bend, and commands the passage. A ship of war entering it must lie to, within reach of the guns of this fort, until a change of wind enables her to proceed up the river; by reason of marshes, the fort is inaccessible by land. This position is the principal defence of the city from an attack by sea. Forty miles above this, is the Detour l'Anglois, or English town, situate in a similar form, but not fortified. From this to the city is a high embankment, or dyke, on the margin of the river, to prevent its overflowing the adjacent country: the surface of this embankment, forms a convenient road. One hundred miles above the city, is an outlet from the river on its east bank, which is denominated the river Iberville, and communicates with lake Pontchartrain, through lake Maurepas.

Lake Pontchartrain, by a narrow pass, communicates with lake Borgne, and this with the gulf of Mexico. The land encircled by these waters, forms the Island of Orleans, and is low, level, and swampy, intersected with numerous bayous or creeks, and much of it lower than the surface of the river. The outlet from lake Pontchartrain to lake Borgne, is about four miles in length. For the defence of this passage, a small fortress had been erected, called Petit Coquille. General Wilkinson, while he commanded at New-Orleans, having been directed to present a plan for the defence of the city; and considering that the probable course which an enemy designing an attack, would take, must be through this passage, and up the Bayou St. John, which would bring them directly before the city, advised that the fortification at the Petit Coquille, be enlarged and provided with sixty pieces of heavy ordnance, and an adequate garrison. His plan was never adopted; but the enemy having obtained possession of it, and believing it to have been executed, were deterred from making their attack at that point. At the entrance of lake Borgne into the gulf of Mexico, are a number of small islands, the principal of which is Ship or Pine Island, where there is a harbour. At this place, and at every entrance into the lake from the gulf, the water is shoal, and will not admit of sea vessels.

The city of New-Orleans is the natural, and only convenient place of deposite on the Mississippi, which furnishes an outlet for one half the territory of the United States, containing one quarter of its population. The productions of the country above, are transported in rafts, boats, and various river craft, to this city, whence they are shipped in sea vessels to distant markets. Its situation rendered it the most important point of attack which the United States presented. At this period, vast quantities of sugar, cotton, tobacco, and other productions were accumulated here, which the war had prevented from being exported, and now promised a rich harvest of plunder. These circumstances rendered this city an important object to the British government, either as a per-

manent conquest, or a subject of negotiation. The same circumstances rendered its defence, at all hazards, an imperious duty on the part of the United States.

*Preparation for the Attack.* After the British fleet left the Chesapeake, they repaired to Jamaica for the purpose of recruiting, obtaining supplies, and concentrating their forces. At this place, and at Bermuda, the whole British force, which could be spared from the Atlantic coast, from Halifax to Georgia, rendezvoused in the month of November for the New-Orleans expedition : large reinforcements were also ordered from England, under General Packenham, furnished not only with the means of war, but also with printing-presses, custom-house and civil officers ; and every thing incident to a permanent establishment. On the 20th of November, this formidable armament, consisting of upwards of sixty sail, left the West Indies for the gulf of Mexico ; and on the 18th of December rendezvoused in the neighbourhood of Ship Island, at the entrance of lake Borgne.

*Embassy to the Choctaws.* Colonel Nicholl had represented to the British commander, that he could obtain powerful aid from the lower Choctaws on the Apalachicola. For this purpose he was despatched at the head of an embassy to engage their assistance. They arrived on the 4th at the principal Indian village, consisting of about forty huts, composed of reeds and branches of trees, erected in the heart of a wood a small distance from the shore. The men sat in the doors of the huts in a state of indolence, their elbows resting on their knees, and their chins on their hands, in perfect silence, each one appearing absorbed in his own contemplations. The women were engaged in carrying water, splitting wood, lighting fires, and cooking provisions, while numerous children were playing and quarrelling round the huts. On the approach of the embassy, the chief, an elderly and infirm man, and the principal warrior, a man of about forty, of a fierce and savage countenance, rose up and came out to meet them. They



were dressed in buffalo hides, with a loose scarf of cotton thrown over one shoulder, and wrapped round their loins : the chief had two broad pieces of gold suspended from his ears, and bracelets of the same metal round his wrists; the warrior's ears were ornamented with silver rings, and a whole Spanish dollar suspended from his nose. Colonel Nicholl was well acquainted with these men, and introduced the other members of the embassy : the Indians extended the hand of friendship to them, and conducted them to the largest hut in the town. By this time the other warriors were roused from their lethargy and crowded about them, so that in a few minutes they were surrounded with upwards of a hundred savages, holding in their hands their uplifted tomahawks, and their scalping knives suspended from a belt fastened round their middle. Having made known their business, the embassy were informed that nothing could be done until after the feast. English and Indians were then all seated on the grass, and the provisions consisting of buffalo flesh, just warmed and swimming in blood, with cakes of Indian corn, were brought in the hands of Indian women, and laid on the turf; the warriors drawing their scalping knives from their belts, cut off slices, and holding the flesh in one hand and the cake in the other, devoured their repast. Out of respect to their guests, the Indian women had prepared a minced dish, which was laid upon dried buffalo hides; of this also the Indians ate heartily, dipping in their hands, and in this manner conveying the food to their mouths. When the remnants were removed, and the women were making their scanty meal of the crumbs, a supply of rum which the English furnished was produced; after liberal potations, the taciturnity which the Indians had hitherto observed, gave way; and all speaking together, each endeavoured to drown the voices of his companions by elevating his own, until it ended in a continued shout. Springing from the ground where they had hitherto continued sitting cross legged, their activity and me-

nacing gestures threatened blood-shed. The result of the conference was that no assistance could be afforded the English. General Jackson's name was a terror to the Indians of the south: and these poor Choctaws learning that if they joined the English, they would have to meet him again before New-Orleans, refused their aid. Colonel Nicholl was obliged to return to the fleet with only two Indians whom he persuaded to accompany him.

*Defence of New-Orleans.* General Jackson, with the regular troops from the Mobile and Mississippi territory, arrived at New-Orleans on the 2d of December, and put in operation the most rigorous measures of defence. The militia of Louisiana and Mississippi were ordered out *en masse*, and large detachments from Tennessee and Kentucky. From a previous correspondence with Governor Claiborne, General Jackson had been informed that the city corps had for the most part, refused obedience to the orders which he had given to turn out on the requisition of General Flournoy; that they had been encouraged in their disobedience by the legislature of the State, who were then in session in the city; that, although there were many faithful citizens in New-Orleans, there were many others, whose attachment to the United States could not be confided in; and should the city be attacked, they must principally depend upon the regular troops, and the militia of the western states for defence. Many of the citizens, the governor observes, are devoted to the interests of Spain; and whose hostility to the English is no less observable than their dislike to the American government. Native Americans, native Louisianians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, and English compose the population; among them there exists much jealousy, and as great a difference in political sentiment as in their language and habits.

In addition to this communication, on the 8th of September, the governor writes, "There is great reason to fear a much greater disaffection than I had anticipated. The garrison

here is alarmingly weak, and from the great mixture of persons and character in this city, we have much to apprehend, from within as well as without. In arresting the intercourse between New-Orleans and Pensacola, you have done right. That place is in fact an enemy's post; and had our commercial intercourse continued, the supplies furnished the enemy would have so much exhausted our own stock of provisions, as to have occasioned the most serious inconvenience to ourselves. I was on the point of taking on myself the prohibition of the trade to Pensacola, and should have issued a proclamation for that purpose, the very day I heard of your interposition. Enemies to the country may blame you for the very prompt and energetic measures you have taken; but in the person of every patriot you will find a supporter. I am aware of the lax police of the city, and indeed throughout the state, with respect to the visits of strangers. I think with you that our country is filled with spies and traitors."

*Martial Law proclaimed.* On his arrival in the city, General Jackson found these sentiments of the governor fully justified: and on consultation with him, in conjunction with Judge Hall, and many influential persons of the city, on the 16th of December, issued an order, declaring the city and environs of New-Orleans to be under strict martial law. Every individual entering the city was required to report himself to the adjutant-general, and no person by land or water was suffered to leave the city without a passport. The street lamps were ordered to be extinguished at nine o'clock; after which any persons found in the streets, or from their homes without permission in writing, and not having the countersign, were ordered to be apprehended as spies.\* This measure at once converted the whole city into a camp, and subjected the persons and property of the citizens to the will of the command-

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\* General Jackson's order of the 16th of December, 1814.

ing general. Writs of habeas corpus, and all other civil process by means of which the lives and properties of the people are protected, were for the time suspended. Such was the alarm and confusion of the moment, that few inquiries were made whence the commanding general of a military station derived such powers, to be exercised over the inhabitants of the adjacent country, in nowise connected with his camp. Although the brilliant success which afterwards attended the operations of General Jackson seemed to justify the measure; yet the people saw in it a precedent, which though it might have saved New-Orleans, might at some future period extinguish their liberties. A most rigid police was now instituted. Spies and traitors, with which the governor complained the city abounded, and who had been industriously employed in seducing the French and Spanish inhabitants from their allegiance, now fled; and the remaining citizens cordially co-operated with the general in the means of defence. Fort St. Philips which guarded the passage of the river at the Detour la Plaquemine, was strengthened and placed under the command of Major Overton, an able and skilful engineer. A site was selected for works of defence, four miles below the city, where its destinies were ultimately to be determined. The right rested on the river, and the left was flanked by an impenetrable cypress swamp, which extended eastward to lake Pontchartrain, and westward to within a mile of the river. Between the swamp and the river was a large ditch or artificial bayou which had been made for agricultural objects, but which now served an important military purpose. On the northern bank of this ditch, the entrenchments were thrown up, and large quantities of cotton bales so arranged, as that the troops could be effectually protected from the enemy's fire. Each flank was secured by an advance bastion; and the latter protected by batteries in the rear. These works were well mounted with artillery. Opposite this position, on the west bank of the river, on a rising ground, General Morgan, with the city and drafted militia, was



stationed ; and Commodore Patterson, with the crews of the *Caroline* and *Louisiana*, and the guns of the latter, formed another, near General Morgan's ; both which entirely enfiladed the approach of an enemy against the principal works. A detachment was stationed above the town to guard the pass of the Bayou St. John, if an attempt should be made from that quarter. These arrangements, promptly and judiciously made, gave entire confidence to the citizens, and inspired them with zeal to second the general's exertions. Reinforcements were daily arriving, and as they arrived, were immediately conducted to their respective stations.

*Landing of the British.* In the meantime, the British were actively employed in making preparations for the attack ; believing the pass from lake Borgne to lake Pontchartrain, to be defended according to General Wilkinson's plan by the fortress of Petit Coquille, they determined to land from lake Borgne, by the bayou Bienvenue. For this purpose they concentrated their forces on Ship island, eighty miles distant from the contemplated place of landing. The depth of water in lake Borgne, was such that this distance could be traversed only by boats and small craft, and must necessarily be passed several times in order to bring up the whole armament. The first object of the British general, was to clear the lake of the American gun-boats ; and for this purpose, forty British launches were sent in pursuit of them, and, after a desperate resistance, captured and destroyed the whole American flotilla, stationed on lake Borgne and Pontchartrain, for the defence of New-Orleans, consisting of five gun-boats, and a small sloop and schooner. By this success, they obtained the undisturbed possession of the lake ; and on the 22d of December, proceeded from their rendezvous on Ship island, with all their boats and small craft capable of navigating the lake, to the bayou Bienvenue ; and having surprised and captured the videttes at the mouth of bayou, the first division accomplished their landing unobserved. Major General Villiere, of the New-Orleans militia, living on the bayou, to whom the

important service of making the first attack, and giving notice of the enemy's approach was intrusted, found them on his plantation, nine miles below the city, without any previous knowledge of their approach.

*Skirmishes of the 23d.* Notice was immediately given to General Jackson, who came out and attacked them on the evening of the 23d. In this affair, the British sustained a loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, of five hundred. The British entrenched themselves at the Bienvenue plantation, four miles from the American camp, making the plantation house in the rear of their works, their head-quarters. General Jackson established his head-quarters, at M'Carty's plantation, on the bank of the river, and in full view of the British encampment. Two armed schooners, the Caroline and Louisiana, constituting all the American naval force on the river, dropped down from the city, anchored opposite the British encampment, and opened a brisk fire upon their lines with considerable effect. On the 27th, the Caroline, Captain Henley, got becalmed within reach of the British batteries, and was set fire to, and destroyed by their hot shot : the other succeeded in getting out of their reach. On the 28th, the British advanced within half a mile of the American lines, and opened a fire of shells and rockets ; but were driven back by the artillery with considerable loss. On the night of the 31st of December, the enemy again advanced within six hundred yards of General Jackson's position, and erected three batteries, mounting fifteen guns, and at eight o'clock in the morning, opened a heavy fire. In the course of the day, under cover of these batteries, three unsuccessful attempts were made to storm the American works. By four in the afternoon, all their batteries were silenced, and in the following night, they returned to their former position. On the 4th of January, General Adair arrived, with four thousand Kentucky militia, principally without arms. The muskets, and munitions of war destined for the supply of this corps, were provided at Pittsburgh, and did not leave that place until the 25th of December ; passed Louisville the 6th

of January, and arrived at New-Orleans, several days after the battle of the 8th. On the 6th, the last reinforcement of three thousand men arrived from England, under Major General Lambert. Before the final assault on the American lines, the British general deemed it necessary to dislodge General Morgan and Commodore Patterson, from their positions on the right bank. These posts so effectually enfiladed the approach to General Jackson's works, that the army advancing to the assault, must be exposed to the most imminent hazard. To accomplish this object, boats were to be transported across the island from lake Borgne to the Mississippi ; for this purpose the British had been laboriously employed in deepening and widening the canal or bayou Bienvenue, on which they first disembarked. On the 7th, they succeeded in opening the embankment on the river, and completing a communication from the lake to the Mississippi. In pushing the boats through, it was found at some places, that the canal was not of sufficient width, and at others the banks fell in and choked the passage which necessarily occasioned great delay, and increase of labour. At length, however, they succeeded in hauling through a sufficient number to transport five hundred troops to the right bank. At dawn of day on the 8th, was the period fixed for the final assault on the American lines. Colonel Thornton, was detached with five hundred men, to cross the river, and attack the batteries on that side, at the same time that the main assault was to be made, of which he was to be informed by a signal rocket. The American general had detached Colonel Davis, with three hundred Kentucky militia, badly armed, to reinforce General Morgan. These were immediately ordered to the water edge, to oppose the enemy's landing. Unable in their situation to contend with a superior force of regular troops well armed, they soon broke and fled, and the Louisiana militia at General Morgan's battery followed their example. Commodore Patterson's marine battery, being now unprotected, his crews were obliged to yield to an overwhelming force, and the British succeeded in

silencing both ; but the opposition Colonel Thornton met with prevented this operation from being completed, until the contest was nearly ended on the opposite side of the river.

*Victory of the 8th.* At day-light on the morning of the 8th, the main body of the British, under their commander in chief, General Packenham, were seen advancing from their encampment to storm the American lines. On the preceding evening, they had erected a battery within eight hundred yards, which now opened a brisk fire to protect their advance. The British came on in two columns, the left along the levee on the bank of the river, directed against the American right, while their right advanced to the swamp, with a view to turn General Jackson's left. The country being a perfect level, and the view unobstructed, their march was observed from its commencement. They were suffered to approach in silence and unmolested, until within three hundred yards of the lines. This period of suspense and expectation was employed by General Jackson and his officers, in stationing every man at his post, and arranging every thing for the decisive event. When the British columns had advanced within three hundred yards of the lines, the whole artillery at once opened upon them a most deadly fire. Forty pieces of cannon deeply charged with grape, canister, and musket balls, mowed them down by hundreds, at the same time the batteries on the west bank opened their fire, while the riflemen in perfect security behind their works, as the British advanced took deliberate aim, and nearly every shot took effect. Through this destructive fire, the British left column, under the immediate orders of the commander in chief, rushed on with their fascines, and scaling ladders to the advance bastion on the American right, and succeeded in mounting the parapet ; here, after a close conflict with the bayonet, they succeeded in obtaining possession of the bastion ; when the battery planted in the rear for its protection, opened its fire, and drove the British from the ground. On the American left, the British attempted to pass the swamp, and gain the rear, but the works had been extend-



ed as far into the swamp as the ground would permit. Some who attempted it, sunk in the mire and disappeared ; those behind seeing the fate of their companions, seasonably retreated and gained the hard ground. The assault continued an hour and a quarter : during the whole time the British were exposed to the deliberate, and destructive fire of the American artillery and musketry, which lay in perfect security behind their breastworks of cotton bales, which no balls could penetrate. At eight o'clock, the British columns drew off in confusion, and retreated behind their works. Flushed with success, the militia were eager to pursue the British troops to their entrenchments, and drive them immediately from the island. A less prudent and accomplished general might have been induced to yield to the indiscreet ardour of his troops ; but General Jackson, understood too well the nature both of his own, and his enemy's force, to hazard such an attempt. Defeat must inevitably have attended an assault made by raw militia, upon an entrenched camp of British regulars. The defence of New-Orleans was the object ; nothing was to be hazarded which would jeopardize the city. The British were suffered to retire behind their works without molestation. The result was such as might be expected from the different positions of the two armies. General Packenham, near the crest of the glacis, received a ball in his knee, Still continuing to lead on his men, another shot pierced his body, and he was carried off the field. Nearly at the same time, Major General Gibbs, the second in command, within a few yards of the lines, received a mortal wound, and was removed. The third in command, Major General Keane, at the head of his troops near the glacis, was severely wounded. The three commanding generals, on marshalling their troops at five o'clock in the morning, promised them a plentiful dinner in New-Orleans, and gave them *booty and beauty* as the parole and countersign of the day. Before eight o'clock, the three generals were carried off the field, two in the agonies of death, and the third entirely disabled ; leaving upwards of

two thousand of their men, dead, dying, and wounded, on the field of battle. Colonel Raynor, who commanded the forlorn hope which stormed the American bastion on the right, as he was leading his men up, had the calf of his leg carried away by a cannon shot. Disabled as he was, he was the first to mount the parapet, and receive the American bayonet. Seven hundred were killed on the field, fourteen hundred wounded, and five hundred made prisoners, making a total on that day of twenty-six hundred. But six Americans were killed, and seven wounded. Of General Morgan's detachment on the west bank, and in a sortie on the British lines, forty-nine were killed, and one hundred and seventy-eight wounded.

After the battle, General Lambert who had arrived from England but two days before, and was now the only surviving general, requested a truce for the purpose of burying his dead. This was granted until four o'clock in the afternoon of the ninth. Lines were drawn one hundred rods distant from the American camp, within which the British were not permitted to approach. In the ditch, and in front of the works, within the prescribed lines, four hundred and eighty-two British dead were picked up by the American troops, and delivered to their companions over the lines for burial. The afternoon of the 8th, and the whole of the 9th, was spent by the British army in burying their dead. The American centinels guarding the lines during this interval, frequently repeated in the hearing of the British, while tumbling their companions by hundreds into the pits, "Six killed, seven wounded." General Lambert employed the first moments of the truce, in recalling Colonel Thornton's corps from the west bank. On the 9th, General Lambert and Admiral Cochrane, with the surviving officers of the army, held a council of war, and determined to abandon the expedition. To withdraw the troops from their position, and re-embark in the face of a victorious enemy, presented an object of nearly as much difficulty and hazard, as the first landing and attack. To accomplish this, every appearance of a renewal of the assault was kept up.

The British remained firm in their position, and presented a menacing front until the 18th.

*Bombardment of St. Philips.* In order to induce a belief that a united attack by land and water, was still intended, the lighter ships ascended the river to the Detour la Plaquemine, and commenced a bombardment of fort St. Philips on the 9th, and continued it until the 17th. The ships, taking stations out of the reach of the guns, commenced throwing shells into the fort, and continued it with little intermission during the whole time. Major Overton, and the garrison under his command, sustained the attack with firmness and with little loss : but two were killed and seven wounded. On the 17th, the ships withdrew and joined the squadron off Ship island. This attack on fort St. Philips answered the purpose of keeping up the alarm at New-Orleans, and inducing a belief that another attempt was intended. During the whole of this time, the general and admiral were with the utmost secrecy and silence, withdrawing and re-embarking their heavy artillery, baggage, and stores.

*Retreat of the British.* On the night of the 18th, they broke up their encampment, and commenced their retreat to the place of their first landing. To accomplish this with safety, it was necessary that the army should move in one body. With this view, immediately after the battle of the 8th, large working parties had been employed in constructing a road through a quagmire, for a considerable distance along the margin of the bayou ; by binding together large quantities of reeds, and laying them across the mire ; in the course of nine days, these parties had constructed something resembling a road from their encampment, to the place of debarkation. Along this insecure tract, the British army silently stole their march in the night of the 18th of January. By the treading of the first corps, the bundles of reeds gave way, and their followers had to wade up to their knees in mire. Several perished in the sloughs, the darkness of the night preventing their companions from affording relief. At the mouth of the bayou

were a few huts which afforded shelter for fishermen, in the season of catching fish for the New-Orleans market ; here the troops halted and bivouacked previous to their embarkation. Their provisions being exhausted, a few crumbs of biscuit, and a small allowance of rum was their only support. Here they were eighty miles from their ships, the whole of which distance they had to traverse in small open boats ; and having but few of these, the embarkation occupied ten days. On the 27th, the whole land and naval forces which remained of this disastrous expedition, to their great joy, found themselves on board their ships. Their ranks thinned, their chiefs and many of their companions slain, their bodies emaciated with hunger, fatigue, and sickness ; they gladly quitted this inauspicious country. The surviving commanding general observes, “ that the services of both army and navy, since their landing on this coast, have been arduous beyond any thing he ever before witnessed, and difficulties have been got over with an assiduity and perseverance beyond example by all ranks.” A British officer of distinction, an actor in the scene, thus describes his tour from the encampment to the embarkation. “ For some time, our route lay along the high road beside the brink of the river, and was agreeable enough ; but as soon as we began to enter upon the path through the marsh, all comfort was at an end. Being constructed of materials so slight, and resting upon a foundation so infirm, the treading of the first corps unavoidably beat it to pieces : those which followed were therefore compelled to flounder on in the best way they could ; and by the time the rear of the column gained the morass, all trace of a way had entirely disappeared. But not only were the reeds torn asunder and sunk by the pressure of those who had gone before, but the bog itself which at first might have furnished a few spots of firm footing, was trodden into the consistency of mud. The consequence was, that every step sunk us to the knees, and frequently higher. Near the ditches, indeed, many spots occurred which we had the utmost difficulty of crossing at all ; and as the night was dark,



there being no moon, nor any light, except what the stars supplied, it was difficult to select our steps, or even to follow those who called to us that they were safe on the other side. At one of these places, I myself beheld an unfortunate wretch gradually sink, until he totally disappeared. I saw him flounder in, heard him cry for help, and ran forward with intention of saving him ; but before I had taken a second step, I myself sunk at once as high as the breast. I could feel no solid bottom under me, and continued slowly to go deeper and deeper, till the mud reached my arms. Instead of endeavouring to help the poor soldier, of whom nothing now could be seen except the head and hands, I was forced to beg assistance for myself, when a leathern canteen strap being thrown me, I laid hold of it, and was dragged out just as my fellow-sufferer became invisible. Over roads such as these, did we continue our march during the whole of the night, and in the morning arrived at a place called Fishermen's huts, consisting of a clump of mud-built cottages, standing by the edge of the water, on a part of the morass rather more firm than the rest. Here we were ordered to halt ; wearied with exertions, and oppressed with want of sleep, I threw myself on the ground without so much as taking off my muddy garments, and in an instant all cares and troubles were forgotten. Nor did I awake from that deep slumber for many hours; when I arose, cold and stiff, and addressed myself to the last morsel of salt pork my wallet contained. Without tents or huts of any description, our bed was the morass, and our only covering the clothes which had not quitted our backs for more than a month ; our fires were composed solely of reeds, which like straw, soon blaze up and expire again, without communicating any degree of warmth. But above all, our provisions were expended, and from what quarter an immediate supply was to be obtained, we could not discover. Our sole dependence was upon the boats. Of these a flotilla lay ready to receive us, in which were already embarked the black corps, and the 44th ; but they had brought with them only food

for their own use, it was therefore necessary that they should reach the fleet and return again before we could be supplied. But as the nearest shipping was eighty miles distant, and the weather might become boisterous, or the winds obstinate, we might starve before any supply could arrive. As soon as the boats returned, regiment after regiment embarked, and set sail for the fleet; but the distance being considerable, and the wind foul, many days elapsed before the whole could be got off; by the end of the month, we were all once more on board our former ships."

*Capture of Fort Boyer.* This armament, being now all on ship-board, proceeded to a more easy and obtainable conquest. The brave Colonel Lawrence, who so nobly defended fort Boyer at Mobile point, on the 15th of September, was now besieged at the same place by this whole force. On the 8th of February, nearly one hundred sail appeared off the island of Dauphine, and commenced a cannonade on the fort; this continued until the 11th, when a landing having been effected, and batteries erected in the rear of the fort, Colonel Lawrence was summoned to surrender, and reluctantly obliged to yield to an overwhelming power. The garrison consisted of three hundred and seventy-five, including officers; the opposing force, by land and water, to nearly ten thousand. This was the last and only successful achievement of the New-Orleans armament, which had excited the highest expectation of its friends, and the apprehensions of its enemies.

## CHAPTER XX.

**Treatment of American Seamen in British service at the Commencement of the War.**—Colonel Beasley's Correspondence with the British Government on the subject.—Those who refuse to serve, treated as prisoners of War, and confined in Dartmoor Prison.—Description of that place.—Number of American Prisoners confined there.—Escape of Lieutenant R. G.—Attack upon, and Slaughter of the Prisoners on the 6th of April, 1815.—Report of joint Commissioners appointed to examine the subject.—Meeting of the Legislature of Massachusetts, October 1814.—View of the situation of that State.—Governor's Message and Documents.—Report of Committee recommending a Convention of Delegates from the New-England States.—Protest of the Minority against the Report.—Proceedings of those States on the subject.—Meeting of the Delegates at Hartford.—Their Powers examined.—Their Journal, Proceedings, and Report.—Proceedings of Massachusetts and Connecticut on the Report of the Convention.—Amendments to the Constitution recommended.—Transmitted to the other States, and rejected.

At the commencement of the war, all British subjects found in the United States, were permitted to return to their native country, and every facility granted for their accommodation. Those who chose to remain, were laid under no other embarrassment in the pursuit of their ordinary concerns, than being obliged to retire from thirty to fifty miles from the sea-board, to prevent an intercourse with the enemy.

*Treatment of Americans in England, at the Declaration of War.* In Great Britain, similar facilities were granted to such Americans as were there for the purposes of business, travelling, or amusement. But there was another class of American citizens, who were destined to receive a very different treatment. Seventy American vessels found in British ports when the news of the declaration of war reached England, were seized and condemned, and their crews detained as prisoners of war.

*Of impressed Seamen.* Between two and three thousand impressed American seamen, found on board British ships, at sea and in port, at the commencement of the war, claimed the right of being exempt from serving against their native country. Every method was adopted which ingenuity could devise, by promises, threats, and in many instances by actual violence, to compel them to serve. Such Americans as were in port, and could find opportunity, communicated their grievances to Colonel Beasley, the American agent for prisoners of war in England, and sought his advice and assistance. His advice, whenever he could have an opportunity to communicate with them, was, that under no circumstances they should bear arms against their country ; to demand their discharge and their privileges as American citizens ; and, in case of refusal, to surrender themselves prisoners of war. His assistance was given them in a very able and eloquent appeal to the board of admiralty in their behalf. In reply they required of him the names of the persons in whose behalf he interfered and the vessels, on board of which they were detained. He named *John Ballord* on board the *Zenolia*, who offered himself as a prisoner, was refused to be received as such, and put in irons. *John Davis* on board the *Thistle*, who gave himself up as a prisoner, and refused further services, for which he was flogged. *Ephraim Court* on board the *La Hogue*, gave himself up as a prisoner, and refused further service, in consequence of which he was kept seven days in irons. *John Hosman*, and *Russel Brainard*, of the same ship, for the same conduct, were put in irons and threatened with further punishment. *Thomas W. Marshal*, *Peter Lazette*, *Edward W. Banks*, and *Levi Zounger*, on board the *Royal William*, gave themselves up as prisoners, and were in consequence thereof put into close confinement for eight days. But the great mass of American impressed seamen, Mr. Beasley could have no access to, and no opportunity was given them to state their cases. On his requesting of the admiralty, the liberty of addressing an open letter to them on the subject, he was



peremptorily refused. The admiralty determined that such as could not be induced to continue their service, should be treated as prisoners of war. The result of these proceedings was, that on each application a strict examination was had of the case of the applicant, under every disadvantage on his part, and before judges under the strongest bias to decide against him. Even under these circumstances, more than two thousand applicants proved themselves to be American citizens, and instead of being paid for their past services, and honourably discharged, were without a shilling immured in prison ships, and in the Dartmoor prison during the war.

It attempting to compel American seamen to fight against their native country, the British government set at defiance all those nice principles on the subject of natural allegiance, which they so strenuously advocated, when it suited their views.

Mr. Beasley was indeed offered, that if he would give his receipt for them as prisoners of war, to be accounted for in a future exchange, with condition not to serve until exchanged, they should be delivered to him to be transported to America at the expense of his government. To this proposition, neither he nor the government could accede ; and these unfortunate men, in whose behalf alone the war was now carrying on, to the amount of more than two thousand, were doomed to undergo a confinement, less eligible than that from which they had been transferred.

*Remonstrance of American Agent for Prisoners.* To a proceeding so cruel to the unfortunate subjects, and such an outrage upon the principles and usages of national law, Mr. Beasley presented an able and eloquent remonstrance ; stating that “ taking into view the manner in which these unfortunate persons came into the power of the British government, that their own rights and inclinations, the rights of their country, the law of nations, and every principle of justice was violated, by the very act by which these men were brought within its power, and that the injury accumulates so long as any

of them so remain. They are on every ground entitled to, and the British government are bound to grant their immediate and complete release. It acquired them only as the spoils of unlawful violence ; how then can it retain them as the fruits of lawful war ? Its right to control them, can only arise from the lawfulness of their detention, but that which was unlawfully taken cannot be rightfully held ; and to acknowledge the pretension to such control, as their lordships' purpose implies, would be to legitimate the act by which they came into their power. The British government, Mr. Beasley observes, disclaims all right and all intention to take them ; this disavowal is an acknowledgment of its obligation to restore them to the same condition, and to the same freedom from which they were taken. On what ground is it that they are to be treated as prisoners of war ? Not many years since, all Europe resounded with the complaints of Great Britain against France, for detaining as prisoners of war, certain British subjects, who, having entered France in time of peace, were found there at the breaking out of the war. But if this was regarded in England as an outrage, what will be thought of this detention as prisoners of war of American seamen, who, having been unlawfully taken on the high seas, and forcibly carried into the British service in time of peace, are found therein at the breaking out of a war, doing her service, and fighting her battles ? The conduct of France was in this instance attempted to be justified by certain acts of England, which were alleged to be equally contrary to the law of nations. But what justification or excuse can be set up for the conduct of Great Britain toward American seamen ? What infraction upon the law of nations, what violence or injustice toward British subjects, or what outrage is this cruel act to retaliate ? It cannot be the free and spontaneous permission given by the United States at the commencement of the war, for every British subject of every class and description found within their territories, or within their power, to return to his country, that this imprisonment of American seamen is to requite. Surely this can-

not be the indemnification which Great Britain offers these unfortunate men for the wrongs she has inflicted on them ; or the reward she offers for the service she has received at their hands."

To the unqualified prohibition of all intercourse between the American agent and the impressed seamen, Mr. Beasley answers, that " he must submit. The relation in which they stood to him seemed to authorize a communication. Their object was to obtain information and counsel, as to the proper mode of conducting under circumstances so difficult and novel, and on an occasion the most solemn and important." His object was, after having waited five months in vain for an answer to his application on their behalf, and having failed in all his attempts to obtain their release, to recommend to them to give themselves up as prisoners of war.\*

It was scarcely to have been expected, after the prince regent's proclamation requiring all British born subjects in foreign nations to return to their country, and after the principles on the subject of natural allegiance which the British government adopted in relation to the prisoners at Queenston, that such measures would have been adopted to force American impressed seamen to fight the battles of Britain against their native country. This reasoning of Mr. Beasley, was never attempted to be answered. But it had no effect upon a government determined to pursue a course of policy which it condemned. The communication lay seventy-three days before the admiralty board to whom it was addressed, and was then handed over to the transport officer ; who replied, that " the lords of the admiralty did not think proper to answer the letter, because it related to subjects which the powers of the American agent did not authorize him to discuss, and though it would have been easy to have completely answered the misconceptions and misstatements it contained, it would

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\* Mr. Beasley's letter to the admiralty.

be useless to proceed with a correspondence which would conduce to no practical result;" acquainting him at the same time, that no person confined in prison as an American seaman, could be released, unless in each individual case he should produce satisfactory proofs, that such person was a natural born American citizen, in which case he would be immediately released from prison upon the usual terms of exchange, if he had been a volunteer in their service, or if an impressed seamen, freely and without exchange. The protections and certificates of citizenship, with which American seamen had been generally furnished, had been repeatedly declared by the admiralty to furnish no evidence in their favour, and these unfortunate men, confined in prison without the privilege of communicating with their friends, or with the American agent, were unable generally to procure any other. Mr. Beasley exerted himself to procure the requisite testimony in all the cases, which came to his knowledge; and out of one hundred and eighty-four, presented by him to the British admiralty, from the 9th of March, to the 18th of September, 1813, he obtained only one discharge. The British were in possession of several thousand American seamen on board their ships of war, and were determined to retain them. Some of these persons were found on board their ships in most of the battles fought and captures made. Many times, however, in actual engagement, their services were no benefit to their oppressors.

*Impressed Seamen treated as Prisoners of War, and confined in Dartmoor.* Those who could not be induced to bear arms against their country, were conveyed to Dartmoor prison, and there confined until the end of the war. The American government could not exchange them, without in some measure recognising the right of the British government to treat them as prisoners. Most of them, therefore, were confined in Dartmoor, hopeless of exchange.

*Description of Dartmoor Prison.* This depôt is situate in the county of Devon, fifteen miles north-east of the naval sta



tion at Plymouth, twenty-six north-west of Exeter, the capital of the county, and two hundred miles south-west of London. It is elevated seventeen hundred feet above the level of the sea, in a region of country, uneven, barren, and dreary. It consists of seven prisons, each calculated to contain from eleven to fifteen hundred men. The prisoners are under the care of an agent, appointed by, and subject to the control of, the transport board. Two thousand militia, and two companies of royal artillery are stationed here to guard the prisoners. This is the general depôt for all that are taken and brought into England, until they are exchanged. The prisons are all strongly built of stone, and surrounded by two circular walls, the outer one measuring a mile in circumference, and enclosing an area of fifty acres. Upon the inner wall are military walks for centinels. Within it are iron palisadoes ten feet high, and twenty feet distant from each other; adjoining the outer wall, are guard-houses on the north, east, and south sides. There are three separate yards which communicate with each other, through a passage one hundred and twenty feet long, and twenty broad, guarded on each side by iron bars, over which, and fronting the prison No. 4, is a walk for the centinels. Opposite this passage, is the market square; a person passing into either yard, has to pass through two iron gates; so that all communication between the yards, may be stopped at pleasure by shutting the gates. The first yard contains the prisons, Nos. 1, 2, and 3. The second contains, No. 4, and is allotted to blacks, and separated from the other yards by two stone walls, fourteen feet high. The third yard contains Nos. 5, 6, and 7. Within the first yard, and just north of No. 1, stands the condemned prison, a place of punishment for various offences committed by the prisoners; this is capable of containing only about sixty prisoners, who are allowed a blanket and straw, instead of their ordinary bedding, and are kept on short allowance; a small aperture near the roof admits the only light. Fronting the first yard, is a wall separating it from the hospital; from the third yard

is another wall separating it from the barracks. The market place, fronting the passage leading from one yard to the other is nearly square, and capable of containing five thousand persons. The market is open every day except Sundays, at eleven, and closed at two ; where the country people come to trade with the prisoners. At the upper part of the market square, are two storehouses, one for the prisoners, and one for the king's stores. The other buildings attached to the establishment, are the houses for the agent, physician, clerks, and turnkeys. To enter either of the prison yards from without, a person must pass through five gates. Fronting the outer gate, is a reservoir of water which supplies the establishment, brought the distance of five miles. The hospital department is under the superintendence of a physician and two assistants. The American prisoners of war, comprehending impressed seamen, the balance of all prisoners taken, or brought into America after the exchanges were made, being transported to England, and all maritime prisoners carried into Great Britain, were confined, and strictly guarded in this dépôt.\* On the 6th of April, 1815, they had accumulated to five thousand six hundred.

The prisoners were every night at a given signal, soon after sunset, obliged to retire to their rooms, and were there locked up until morning. At the same time the gates were all closed ; and numerous sentinels on the walls, and at the gates and avenues.

*Escape of Lieutenant R. G.* An escape seemed impossible ; one, however, was attempted by Mr. R. G. lieutenant of the privateer Rattlesnake, which was finally attended with success. He procured a sufficient quantity of old rope yarn, with which he constructed a rope eighty feet in length, and obtained a uniform and a great coat resembling those which the

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\* Relation by an American officer, who had been prisoner in Dartmoor, published in Essex Register, June 1815.—*Salem, Mass.*

sentinels wore while on duty ; having made these preparations, he obtained the countersign for six guineas, from one of the guards ; and a short time previous to the relief at midnight, silently lowered himself down by his rope from the window of his room in the upper loft, eighty feet from the ground ; armed with a dagger, and accoutred as a sentinel, with his umbrella under his great coat, in the manner the guards usually carried their guns while on duty. He concealed himself under the walls of the prison until the relief came round, and when the gates opened to relieve the guard, he boldly marched up and was challenged by two sentinels at the first gate, and the countersign demanded ; this he readily gave, and was directed to pass on by the sentinel who challenged him ; but the other who was the one that had received the bribe, said no, it was one of the American prisoners, and immediately seized him. The lieutenant, finding his case desperate, and indignant at the villain who had received his money only to betray him, sprung upon him with his dagger, and would have taken exemplary vengeance, at the expense of his own life, but he was immediately overpowered by the guards, taken back and confined in the black hole or condemned prison, without light, furnished only with a little straw, and fed on bread and water for ten days. He was then taken out, brought before the superintendent, and required to give up the name of the person, from whom he received the countersign. Had the sentinel been faithful to the lieutenant, no consideration would have induced him to give him up ; but as the soldier had been guilty of a double treachery, he was under no honorary obligation to conceal his name. He informed the superintendent of the name and conduct of the villain, who received three hundred lashes for his villany. Mr. G. being now restored to the condition of ordinary prisoners, and having preserved his accoutrements, determined to make another attempt, notwithstanding the guards were doubled in consequence of the first. He again obtained the countersign for three guineas, let himself down

in the same manner as before, mixed with the guards at the time of relief, and succeeded in passing all the barriers, after being stopped and examined seventeen times. No time was to be lost, the night was fast spending, when he gave Dartmoor prison a last look, and made his way across the fields, towards the coast, without money or friends, and apprehensive of being arrested by every person he should meet. Having reached the coast, weary and hungry, he found a boat eighteen feet long, furnished with one oar; without provision, water; compass, or any guide, he put himself to sea in this little bark for the coast of France, a distance of one hundred miles. Having obtained a good offing, he converted his umbrella and a part of his clothes into a sail, and with his oar in the stern, steered for the continent. About half-passage over, the sea running high, and the wind fresh, he discovered a brig of war near him, he immediately hauled in his sail, and made from the brig. Fortunately he was too small an object to be discovered, and passed her unnoticed. After a perilous voyage of thirty-six hours, he landed in safety on the coast of France, and soon afterwards found a passage to the United States.

Immediately after the ratification of the treaty of peace by the prince regent, the third article of which provides "that all prisoners of war taken on either side, shall be restored as soon as practicable," Colonel Beasley applied to the British government for the discharge of the prisoners confined at Dartmoor, proposing as a condition, that they should be considered still as prisoners of war, and not at liberty to serve until regularly exchanged in the event of the treaty's not being ratified by the American government. This proposition was refused, and the prisoners still held in custody. Intelligence of the ratification of the treaty by the President, arrived in England on the 20th of March; arrangements, however, were not completed for the discharge of the prisoners and their transportation to America, until the last of April; the governments not agreeing which should bear the expense of



transportation. The intervening time to persons who had been so long confined, was a period of much anxiety, and disquietude. A great and increasing misunderstanding existed between the prisoners and Captain Shortland the superintendent.

*Disturbances at Dartmoor.* On the 6th of April, some of the prisoners, as a matter of amusement, had perforated the walls of one of the buildings, and made a hole sufficient to admit a person to pass through. Captain Shortland observing this, and seeing also, what he apprehended to be some unusual movements among the prisoners, supposed they were attempting to make an escape. He ordered the alarm bell to be rung, a signal for calling together the military. The prisoners, very few of whom had any knowledge of the perforation, and none had any idea of making an escape, rushed out into the adjoining yards, to inquire into the cause of the alarm. A scene of confusion and disorder now ensued. The military assembled at the sound of the alarm bell ; and by order of the superintendent, fired on the prisoners. They attempted to regain their prisons, but the confusion and crowd was so great, that a considerable time elapsed, during which the guard continued firing into the passages where the crowd was the greatest ; and after the greater part of the prisoners had regained the buildings, several of the last were shot down.

*Slaughter of the Prisoners.* Seven were killed outright, thirty-three wounded, some of whom died soon after of their wounds. This transaction was viewed by the prisoners as a wanton act of cruelty and murder on the part of the superintendent. As they were then in hourly expectation of being honourably discharged with the means of returning to their native country, there could be no possible inducement for an escape ; and had the prison doors been opened under these circumstances, no one would have gone out. They supposed, therefore, that the alarm and confusion was created by the superintendent, as an excuse and cover for his previous cruelties and extortion.

By an arrangement between Messrs. Clay and Gallatin, then in England on their return from Ghent, and Lord Castlereagh, a joint commission of two persons, one nominated by each party, was agreed upon to examine into the subject and report the facts. The commission, consisting of Charles King and Francis S. Larpent, reported a statement of facts from the testimony of the prisoners, the superintendent, and guards, which divided the blame equally between them.\* Captain Shortland, in consequence of his conduct in this transaction, was discharged, and a person more acceptable to the prisoners appointed in his room; and tranquillity restored for the few days which the prisoners remained in confinement after this event.

*Proceedings of Massachusetts.* A considerable majority of the people of New-England had been opposed to the war from the beginning. Of the twenty-nine members from the New-England states in the house of representatives when war was declared, nine only voted in favour of the measure, and twenty against it. The votes in the senate were two in favour and eight against the war.

The system adopted for the prosecution of the war was as much at variance with the public sentiment in New-England, as the measure itself. Withdrawing the regular force from the sea-board, for the conquest of Canada, and leaving the coasts to be protected by occasional calls of the militia, was universally condemned by the advocates of peace. They considered the attempt to conquer Canada as unjust in itself, extremely hazardous and expensive, and productive of no solid advantage to the United States. If we must have war, say they, let it be a war of protection and defence on land, and an active, offensive war against British commerce on the ocean. The calamities to which the inhabitants of the sea-board had been subjected, and the disasters on the Canadian frontier, they claimed, fully justified their views of the subject. The dis-

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\* Report of the Commissioners.

tresses of the war were felt with peculiar severity by the inhabitants of the coast of Massachusetts, and the neighbouring islands. Much of their soil is unproductive, and their principal dependence is on their fisheries in the summer, for supplies the succeeding winter, which must be water-borne from the markets where they are obtained. The British squadrons on the coast entirely obstructed their sea-fisheries, and in a great measure prevented their obtaining their necessary winter supplies. More than a hundred flourishing towns on a sea-board, including its various indents of six hundred miles in extent, were exposed to that war of devastation which Admiral Cochrane had threatened, and was carrying into execution with unremitting severity. Many of these towns were obliged to save themselves from entire destruction by heavy ransoms.

The unfortunate controversy between the general government and the New-England state governments, in relation to the constitutional powers of each over the militia, ended in the determination of the general government not to pay or support any militia, who were not called out by, and subjected to the orders of the commanding general of the district, or by him received into service; and in the determination of the state governments not to subject their militia to such orders. This threw the whole burden of defending an extensive coast and frontier upon the state governments; while they were obliged to contribute their proportion of direct and indirect taxes to the general expenses of a war which they condemned. All that part of the province of Maine lying eastward of Penobscot river, comprehending a large and valuable tract of territory and numerous inhabitants, was occupied by the British, apparently with the intention of making a permanent establishment.

To the legislature of Massachusetts, convened in January 1814, the petitions of thirty-five towns were presented, stating in strong terms the grievances they suffered by the war, the embargo, and other measures of the general government.

The committee to whom these memorials were referred, after reciprocating most of the sentiments they contained, recommended certain resolutions, declaring the embargo laws unconstitutional and void. The report concludes with observing that, as the well grounded complaints of the people constitute a continued claim on the government until their grievances are redressed, they recommend that the several memorials be delivered to the governor, with a request that he or his successor would cause them to be laid before the next legislature. This report was accepted by both houses.

*Special Meeting of the Massachusetts Legislature, October 1814.* A new election of all the branches of the government took place in the April following, and the governor called a special meeting of the legislature the succeeding October. In his address at the opening of the session, he stated, "that the war in which the country was involved, had assumed an aspect so threatening and destructive, and at the same time the troops of the United States having been withdrawn to aid in the operations against Canada, he had found it necessary to order out large detachments of militia for the defence of the sea-board; that the limited sources of revenue, which the state had retained in its own power, bore no proportion to the expenses incurred in its defence; that the situation of the state was peculiarly distressing. By the terms of the constitution, they had been led to rely on the government of the union for defence. They had resigned to that government the revenues of the state, with the expectation that this object would not be neglected; but that government has declared war against the most powerful maritime nation, whose fleets can approach every section of our sea-board, to an extent of five or six hundred miles, without providing the means of defence. Though we may be convinced that the war, in its commencement, was unnecessary and unjust, and has been prosecuted without any useful or practical object against the inhabitants of Canada, while our sea-coast has been left almost defenceless; though in a war thus commenced, we may have declined to afford our voluntary aid to offensive



operations, there can be no doubt of our right and our duty to defend our dwellings and possessions against any hostile attack by which they are menaced.\*"

In a subsequent message, the governor informed the legislature, that "he had communicated to the war-office the measures taken for the defence of the state; and requesting information whether the expenses of the militia called out in its defence would be ultimately borne by the United States: that he had received the secretary's answer, explaining the views and principles of the executive in regard to the defence of the eastern frontier.

*Letter of the Secretary of State to Governor Strong relating to the Militia.* "It was anticipated," the secretary remarks, "soon after the commencement of the war, that while it lasted, every part of the union, especially the sea-board, would be exposed to some degree of danger, greater or less, according to the spirit with which the war might be waged; it was the duty of the government to make the best provision against the danger which might be practicable, and to continue it as long as the cause existed. The arrangement of the United States into military districts, with a certain portion of the regular force of artillery and infantry under an officer of the regular army, of experience and high rank, in each military district, with power to call for the militia as circumstances might require, was adopted with a view to afford the best protection to every part that circumstances would admit. It was presumed that the establishment of a small force of this kind, constituting the first elements of an army in each district, to be aided by the militia in case of emergency, would be adequate to its defence. Such a force of infantry and artillery might repel small predatory parties, and form a rallying point for the militia, at the more exposed and important stations, in case of more formidable invasions. A regular officer of experience, stationed in the district, acting

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\* Governor Strong's speech to the Massachusetts legislature, October 1814.

under the authority and pursuing the will of the government, might digest plans for its defence, select proper points for works, and superintend the erection of them, call for supplies of ordnance and munitions of war, call for militia, and dispose of the whole force. These duties, it was believed, could not be performed with equal advantage by the officers of the militia, who, being called into service for short periods, could not have it in their power, however well qualified they might be in other respects, to digest plans and preserve that chain of connexion and system in the whole business which seemed to be indispensable. On great consideration, this arrangement was deemed the most eligible that could be adopted; indeed none occurred that could be put in competition with it. In this mode the national government acts by its proper organs, over whom it has control, and for whose engagements it is reponsible.

“The measures which may be adopted by a state government for its defence, must be considered its own measures, not those of the United States. The expenses attending them are chargeable to the state and not to the United States. A different construction would lead to the most pernicious consequences. If a state could call out its militia, and subject the United States to the expense of supporting them, at its pleasure; the national authority would cease as to that important object, and the nation be charged with expenses, in the measures producing which the national government had no agency, and over which it could have no control. By taking the defence of the state into its own hands, and out of those of the general government, a policy is introduced, on the tendency of which all comment is unnecessary. If a close union of the states, and a harmonious co-operation between them and the general government, are at any time necessary for the preservation of their independence, and their inestimable liberties, which were achieved by the blood and valour of their ancestors, that time has now arrived. From this view of the subject, it follows, that if the force

which has been put into service by the executive of Massachusetts has been required by General Dearborn, the commanding officer of the district, or has been received by him, and put under his command, the expenses will be defrayed by the United States. But if this force has been called into service by authority of the state, independently of General Dearborn, and not placed under him as commander of the district, the state of Massachusetts is chargeable with the expense, and not the United States. The general government has no other alternative but to adhere to a system of defence adopted on great consideration with the best view to the general welfare, or to abandon it, and with it a principle held sacred, thereby shrinking from its duty in a moment of great peril, weakening the guards deemed necessary for the public safety, and opening the door to other consequences no less dangerous.”\*

*Report of the Committee of Massachusetts Legislature.* In the house of representatives the governor's message and accompanying documents were referred to a select committee, who reported, that “ the unhappy and ruinous war declared against Great Britain, has assumed an aspect of great and immediate danger to the commonwealth. The persevering invasion of Canada, has at length produced, as a natural consequence, the invasion of our Atlantic frontier and river towns. A portion of the territory of this state is already in the actual occupation of the enemy, and the sea-coast in all such ports as may be deemed assailable is openly menaced with desolation. To defend our soil and repel the invader, no force or means bearing any proportion to the emergency, have been provided by the national government. It was justly to have been expected that before hostilities were provoked by a formidable enemy, or that at least at some period subsequent to their commencement, means of defence and

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\* Letter of secretary of state to Governor Strong.

protection would have been afforded to a sea-coast, so extended and so exposed to the ravages of an enemy as that of Massachusetts. But events forbid a reliance on such expectations. The principal part of the regular force, raised, or at any time quartered in this state, has been withdrawn to the war on the Canada border. The fortifications, until lately strengthened by the exertions of our own citizens, were essentially defective, and the navy in a situation calculated to invite rather than repel aggression, and to require protection instead of affording it. Indeed, when the circumstances under which the war was declared and has been prosecuted are reviewed, in connexion with the utter neglect of the ordinary preparation for such a state, the inference is fairly warranted that the American cabinet intended no other means of defence for this state, but such as a brave and free people would feel themselves impelled to make by their own sense of danger and love of country. That it relied upon the passions and sufferings incident to a state of war, to overcome the repugnance so universally felt by our citizens to the unjust and ruinous contest; and to leave them at liberty to drain our population and our treasures, for the prosecution of their favourite enterprise. But when the commonwealth was found to be in danger of invasion, the people have not paused to consider the motives and objects of their national rulers in leaving them defenceless; but, at the summons of their governor, they have repaired to the standard of their country, with a zeal and alacrity which demonstrate, that the principles which unite men of every class and description in the determination to conquer or die in its defence, are not enfeebled by party distinctions. But one spirit animates the whole mass of our citizens with the invincible resolution of defending their native land against the invasions of an enemy, who has not discriminated between those who anxiously sought peace, and those who wantonly provoked the war. It is, however, a fact not to be disguised, that while the people of this state, with the blessing of heaven, have confidence in the sufficiency of their resources, for de-



fending their own soil, if applied exclusively to this object, yet they cannot be supposed equal to this, and also competent to respond to the heavy and increasing demands of the national government. The state of the national treasury, as exhibited by the proper officer, requires an augmentation of existing taxes ; and if, in addition to these, the people of Massachusetts, deprived of their commerce and harassed by a formidable enemy, are compelled to provide for the indispensable duty of self-defence, it must soon become impossible for them to sustain this burden. There remains for them, therefore, no alternative, but submission to the enemy, or the control of their own resources to repel aggressions. It is impossible to hesitate in making the election. This people are not ready for conquest or submission. But being ready and determined to defend themselves, and having no other adequate means of defence, they have the greatest need of those resources derivable from themselves, which the national government has hitherto thought proper to employ elsewhere. This disastrous condition of public affairs has been forced upon Massachusetts, not merely against her consent, but in opposition to her most earnest protestations. From the moment that the administration, yielding to its own passions, and calculations of party power, commenced its system of commercial hostility to Great Britain, and of conformity to the views of the late tyrant of France, its tendency to involve the nation in the most needless and cruel embarrassments was distinctly foreseen, and declared by former legislatures. It was never doubted but that a war with Great Britain would be accompanied with an extinction of commerce, by the banishment of our sailors, the desolation of our coast, the blockade and invasion of our sea-ports, the failure of national credit, the necessity of oppressive taxes, and the consummation of national ruin by an alliance with the late despot of Europe, from which greatest of all calamities we have been preserved only by his fall. Of all these evils were our rulers forewarned by Massachusetts, whose vital interests

were thus put in jeopardy, and they were implored by every consideration of policy and humanity, to stay their hands from the cruel and wanton sacrifice of the interests of those who asked from them nothing but the privilege of pursuing their own industrious callings. But government, deaf to this voice, and listening to men distinguished in their native state only by their disloyalty to its interests, have affected to consider the patriotic citizens of this great state, as tainted with disaffection to the union, and predilection for Great Britain, and have lavished the public treasury in vain attempts to fix by evidence this odious imputation. Thus dishonoured, and deprived of all influence in the national councils, this state has been dragged into an unnatural and distressing war, and its safety and liberties endangered."

The committee declare their conviction that "the constitution of the United States, under the administration of the persons in power, has failed to secure to the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and to the eastern section of the union, those equal rights and benefits, which were the great objects of its formation. These grievances justify and require vigorous, persevering, and peaceable exertions, to unite those who realize the sufferings, and foresee the dangers of the country, in some system of measures to obtain relief, for which the ordinary mode of procuring amendments to the constitution affords no reasonable expectation in season to prevent the completion of its ruin. The people, however, possess the means of certain redress, and when their safety, which is the supreme law, is in question, these means should be promptly applied. The framers of the constitution made provision to amend defects which were known to be incidental to every human institution, and the provision itself was not less liable to be found defective, than other parts of the instrument. When this deficiency becomes apparent, no reason can preclude the right of the whole people, who were parties to it, to adopt another, and it is presumed, that a spirit of equity and justice, enlightened by experience, would enable them

to reconcile conflicting interests, and obviate the principal cause of these dissensions, which unfit government for a state of peace and of war, and so to amend the constitution as to give vigour and duration to the union of the states. But as a proposition for such a convention from a single state would probably be unsuccessful, and our danger admits not of delay, the committee recommend that in the first instance a conference be invited between those states, the affinity of whose interests is the closest, and whose habits of intercourse from their local situation or other causes are the most frequent, to the end that by a comparison of their sentiments and views, some mode of defence suited to the circumstances and exigencies of those states, and measures for accelerating the return of prosperity, may be devised ; and also to enable the delegates from those states, should they deem it expedient, to lay the foundation for a radical reform in the national compact by inviting to a future convention, a deputation from all the states in the union." The report concludes with recommending the raising of an army of ten thousand men for the defence of the state ; and the appointment of twelve persons, as delegates from the legislature, to meet and confer with delegates from the states of New-England, or any of them, upon the subjects of their public grievances, and concerns, and upon the best means of preserving our resources, and defence against the enemy ; and to devise and suggest for the adoption by those respective states, such measures as they may deem expedient, and also to take measures, if they shall think proper for procuring a convention of delegates from all the United States, in order to revise the constitution thereof ; and more effectually to secure the support and attachment of all the people, by placing all upon the basis of a fair representation.\*

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\* Report of Committee of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, October 1814.

A committee of the senate upon the same subject made a report to that body upon the same principles. The resolutions recommended by the committee of the house of representatives passed both houses, and delegates were appointed to meet at Hartford on the 15th day of the following December, to confer with such as may be chosen by any or all of the other New-England states upon the subjects referred to in the resolutions.

*Protest of Minority.* These proceedings of the legislature were opposed in every stage of them by a respectable minority of both houses. In the senate a protest was drawn up and signed by thirteen members, and placed on their journals, stating, that "these propositions are at this time extraordinary, alarming, and pernicious. The protestants believe the constitution of the United States to be the most perfect system of republican government which human wisdom could invent, established upon the broad principles of sovereignty in the states, liberty in the people, and energy in the federal head, and effected by the zeal, concessions, and candour of those enlightened patriots, who had carried America through a war of unparalleled suffering to independence and peace. They had hoped that neither the ambition of party, nor the test of experiment, would have so soon led to the conclusion, *"that it had failed to secure to any section of the union, those equal rights and benefits which were the great objects of its formation."* Much less was it to be supposed, that under the pretext of reconciling conflicting interests, in a time of war and invasion, and when our constitutional agents were attempting to negotiate a peace, we should promulgate the sentiments to our friends and our enemies, that the *government was unfit for peace or war*; that a radical reform, or another constitution, was essential to the salvation of the people.

There are other objects, they further remark, more alarming in their nature, and more pernicious in their tendency. It was wisely provided by the constitution, that no state should



enter into any compact or agreement with another without the consent of congress. It was probably foreseen that disappointed and ambitious men would attempt to form associations prejudicial to the general welfare, and dangerous to the union of the states. That these men would excite local jealousies, and attempt geographical distinctions ; and that despairing of gaining the whole, they would attempt a severance that they might govern a part. It was therefore prudent and proper that these compacts should be under the control of the states and people represented in congress. It is therefore with great solicitude and concern that we are led to inquire, what public grievances can warrant the assembling of delegates of the states of New-England, or what affinity of interest can authorize them to devise means of preserving their own resources to themselves? The respective states of New-England can now preserve all their resources, except such as are under the constitutional control of the United States. Will they combine to take these? Such a combination would be a resistance of federal authority. A civil war would become inevitable. The enemy would profit by our dissensions ; our union would be dissolved, our country conquered, and our liberty extinguished. Our country is now engaged in a just, and of late a successful war. Our resources abundant, our government adequate, and our citizens brave, enterprising, and intelligent ; union alone can secure us the blessings of an honourable peace. While our commissioners are negotiating with the most earnest solicitude for their country's welfare ; while our army and navy are defending the soil, and maintaining the honour and glory of the country, and our brave yeomanry are rushing to our shores to meet and repel the invader, and the spirit of party is becoming absorbed in the spirit of patriotism ; why should Massachusetts, great, powerful, and respectable as she is, form a combination, which will defeat the hopes of the friends of peace, and encourage a powerful and vindictive enemy? With these views and feelings, the remonstrants cannot but deeply regret that

a proposition, so unpromising of good, destitute of important ostensible objects, but full of distrust, jealousy, and mischief, and calculated to alarm, discourage, and divide the people, should ever have been adopted by the senate of Massachusetts. Suspicions have been indulged that Massachusetts would take the lead of the New-England states in a combination to dissolve the union; that as a preliminary step, a course similar to that contemplated by these resolutions would be adopted, and that a period of war would be selected for the purpose. By the adoption of these resolutions, these suspicions will grow into a settled belief. The raising an army of ten thousand men, at the expense and under the command of the state, will have little tendency to diminish this alarm. However honourable and patriotic the motives may be for raising such an army, and refusing to place them under the orders and pay of the general government, we have strong apprehensions that the people of this commonwealth will have too much reason to believe that the honour to command will not compensate for the burthen of support; that a separate army comports too well with a separate sovereignty, and that these men may at some future period be employed to settle domestic quarrels, or enforce local interests.

From the resolutions and preamble, and circumstances attending the debate, we have strong reasons to apprehend, that propositions for a separate peace may grow out of a meeting of delegates from the New-England states. Should such propositions be made by the British government to the convention, and the terms, as they probably would be, very flattering to this section of the union, the temptation to momentary gain, might induce a compact with the enemy, introduce an army of foreign mercenaries, produce a civil war, and end in a subjugation of both sections to the power of Great Britain. Ambition has destroyed every other republic on earth. The United States stand alone, like a solitary rock in the midst of the ocean, surrounded and assailed by

storms and tempests ; in vain may we look for aid, except from union, energy, and heaven.\*

A protest, containing similar sentiments, was drawn up, and signed by seventy-six members, and presented to the house of representatives, with a request that it might be placed on the journals of that body ; from some expressions which were deemed disrespectful to the legislature, it was refused a place on the journals, and published only in the periodical papers of the day.

*Proceedings of the other N. E. States.* These proceedings of the Massachusetts legislature were transmitted to the four other New-England states, requesting their concurrence in the measure. The sentiments of the bodies to whom they were addressed, were not in full accordance with those of Massachusetts. No one doubted the right, secured to the people by the constitution, peaceably to assemble and apply to the government for the redress of their grievances. Few of the citizens of this section of the union doubted the fact, that the war, in the course it had taken, bore with peculiar weight upon Massachusetts and the other New-England states. But the measure of calling a convention at the time and for the purposes expressed in those resolutions was highly inexpedient. One principal feature presented by them, was a proposition for a meeting of delegates from the New-England states, to confer upon the best means of preserving and controlling their resources. It was obvious that a refusal on the part of the states, to permit the collection of the public revenue, must be met by the general government with a force adequate to ensure a collection ; and that the result must be an abandonment of the measure on the part of the states, a dissolution of the union, or a civil war.

The other important object contemplated by the resolutions, was a radical change in the national constitution, or the

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\* Protest of the minority of the senate of Massachusetts, October 1814.



formation of a new one, to be effected by a convention of all the states. The present form of government had been in operation twenty-five years, twelve of which it had been administered by one of the great political parties into which the United States were divided, and thirteen by the other; and both in turn had declared it to be the perfection of human wisdom. No such radical change appeared either desirable or practicable. If any amendments were deemed necessary, the constitution itself provided a mode by which they could be obtained, very different from the one proposed by the resolutions. But if alterations were wanted in one way or the other, the time appeared peculiarly inauspicious. With an enemy at their doors, ready to profit by their dissensions, and the spirit of party in a state of high fermentation, the people of the United States were illy qualified calmly to deliberate upon, and adopt radical changes in their frame of government. Intelligence had just then been received from their negotiators for peace, that the British claimed, as a preliminary, a cession of a large portion of the state of Ohio, and of the western territories to the Indians as a permanent barrier, between the American settlements and the Canadas, and that they advanced other claims which could be addressed only to a conquered nation. The necessity of united exertions was universally felt, and it was a subject of deep regret that any measures should be put in operation, presenting an aspect of a divided people, and thereby giving encouragement to the extravagant claims of the enemy.

*Vermont.* The legislature of Vermont declined taking any measures upon the subject.

*New-Hampshire.* The executive council of New-Hampshire refused to call a meeting of the legislature upon the occasion, and of course no delegates were appointed from that state.

*Connecticut.* In Connecticut the resolutions and accompanying documents were referred to a joint committee of both branches of the legislature, who made a report reciprocating



many of the sentiments contained in the resolutions; but the cautious and prudent policy of that state led them to meet their brethren of Massachusetts upon constitutional grounds only. The committee observe that the documents transmitted from Massachusetts, present an eligible mode of combining the wisdom of New-England, in devising, on full consultation, a proper course to be adopted consistent with our obligations to the United States, and recommend that seven persons be appointed delegates from this state, to meet the delegates from Massachusetts, and of any other of the New-England States, at Hartford, on the 15th of the following December, and to confer with them on the subjects proposed by the resolutions of the legislature of that commonwealth, and upon any other subjects that may come before them, for the purpose of devising and recommending measures for the safety and welfare of these states; provided that such measures only shall be devised and recommended, as may consist with their obligations as members of the union.\*

*Rhode-Island.* The legislature of Rhode-Island had previously passed resolutions, authorizing and requesting their captain general, in case of the invasion of the neighbouring states, to march immediately to their assistance, such part of the military force as he should think expedient; and to assure the executives of the neighbouring states of the readiness of the state of Rhode-Island to render them all the aid in their power in case of invasion, or imminent danger thereof, and to solicit their co-operation, and speedy aid and assistance to the state of Rhode-Island under similar circumstances. Communications, in pursuance of these resolutions, had been made by Governor Jones to the executives of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and cordially reciprocated. The same controversy subsisted between the government of the state of Rhode-Island and the general government, in relation to the

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\* Report of the committee of the legislature of Connecticut on the Massachusetts resolutions.

militia, as in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and with the same result. Rhode-Island had been left to provide for her own defence. The safe and convenient harbour of Newport, and the rich towns accessible by water, presented very tempting objects to the cupidity of the enemy. From the smallness of its size, that state was the least able to raise a force sufficient to repel an invader. They were from these circumstances the more ready to listen to any measure that promised them aid from other states. A joint letter from the president of the senate, and speaker of the house of representatives of Massachusetts, covering their resolutions on the subject of the convention, was addressed to the governor of Rhode-Island, with a request to lay the same before the legislature, inviting them to appoint delegates to the proposed convention, stating their objects to be to deliberate on the dangers to which the eastern section of the union is exposed by the course of the war, and which there is too much reason to believe will thicken round them in its progress; and to devise, if practicable, measures of safety and defence, which may be consistent with the preservation of their resources from total ruin, and adapted to their local situation, mutual relations, and habits, and not repugnant to their obligations as members of the union. The letter further remarks, that when convened for this object, which admits not of delay, it seems also expedient to submit to their consideration, the inquiry whether the interests of these states do not demand that persevering endeavours be used by each to procure such amendments to be effected in the national constitution as may secure to them equal advantages, and whether if in their judgment they should be deemed impracticable under the existing provisions for amending that instrument, an experiment may be made without disadvantage to the nation for obtaining a convention from all the states in the union, or such of them

as may approve of the measure with a view to obtain such amendments.\*

The committee of the legislature, to whom the subject was referred, state in forcible terms the exposed situation of our country, complain that the means of defence have been withheld from them, and appropriated to distant and unpropitious services, and that the whole United States military force, stores, and property in that state, did but serve to increase their danger by offering a temptation to the enemy. Placed in this situation, the legislature at their last session had requested the governor to communicate with the executives of the neighbouring states upon the subject of common defence, offering and requesting mutual assistance in case of danger. "These states," the committee remark, "had reciprocated their proffers of mutual assistance, and invited us to appoint delegates to meet those appointed by them, to confer upon our defenceless and calamitous situation, and to devise and recommend prudent measures for our relief. They therefore recommend a resolution to appoint four delegates to meet in the proposed convention, to confer upon the common dangers to which these states are exposed, upon the best measures for co-operating for our mutual defence against the enemy, and upon the measures which it may be in the power of these states, consistently with their obligations to the United States, to adopt, to restore and secure to the people thereof, their rights and privileges under the constitution of the United States." The report was accepted and the resolution adopted. Ayes thirty-nine, noes twenty-three.†

*Meeting of the New-England Convention at Hartford.* The delegates from Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, and Connecticut, met at Hartford on the 15th day of December, 1814.

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\* Letter from the president of the senate and speaker of the house of representatives of Massachusetts to Governor Jones.

† Report of the committee of the legislature of Rhode-Island on the Massachusetts resolutions.

Two gentlemen from the counties of Grafton and Cheshire, in the state of New-Hampshire, and one from the county of Windham in the state of Vermont, appointed by county conventions, appeared and were received as members. The meeting of this body was viewed with much anxiety both by its friends and its enemies. The former looked up to it as a power which was to relieve them from the pressures and embarrassments under which they laboured in consequence of the war, and to save them from the calamities with which they were threatened; the other denounced it as seditious and treasonable, as calculated to favour the designs of the enemy, to embarrass the pending negotiations, protract the war, and increase its calamities. The members of the convention, on examining their powers, found they were neither able to gratify the wishes of their friends, nor could they afford any reasonable ground for the apprehensions of their enemies. They were merely an advisory body, and restricted even in that, to give no advice inconsistent with the duties of their constituents to the general government. Had they been disposed to recommend a negotiation for a separate peace, or a neutrality on the part of the New-England States, or for those states to withhold their resources, and refuse to pay their proportion of the public revenue; or to form a compact between these states for mutual defence, without the consent of Congress; or a division of the union; they had no such powers. Neither their friends nor their enemies had any reasonable grounds for such apprehensions. Were they disposed to censure the administration for the commencement, continuance, or manner of conducting the war, abundance of matter of this kind was to be found in the various volumes of newspapers from the commencement of the war to the period of their session, and in such varieties that it would be difficult to add a new paragraph. What then were the convention to do? For a respectable delegation, composing an élité corps of an important section of the union, to meet at an interesting crisis, on affairs of state, and do nothing, would be highly undignified, and disappoint the expectations



of all. Called together for no very definite object, their first inquiry was, what would be the proper subjects for their consideration?

*Proceedings.* The duty of solving this question, they assigned to a committee of five of their number on the first day of their session, who, on the second, reported that it was proper for them to deliberate on—

1st. The powers claimed by the executive of the United States, to determine conclusively in respect to calling out the militia of the states into the service of the United States, and the dividing the United States into military districts, with an officer of the army in each thereof, with discretionary authority from the executive of the United States, to call for the militia to be under the command of such officer.

2d. The refusal of the executive of the United States to supply or pay the militia of certain states called out for their defence, on the grounds of their not having been called out under the authority of the United States, or not having been by the executive of the state put under the command of the commander of the military district, and the failure of the government of the United States to supply and pay the militia of the states, by them admitted to have been in the United States service.

3d. The report of the secretary at war to congress, on filling the ranks of the army, together with a bill or act upon that subject.

4th. A bill before congress providing for the classing and drafting the militia.

5th. The expenditure of the revenue of the nation in offensive operations on the neighbouring provinces of the enemy.

6th. The failure of the government of the United States to provide for the common defence, and the consequent obligations, necessity, and burden, devolved on the separate states to defend themselves, together with the mode, ways, and means, in their power for accomplishing the object.

The convention continued their daily deliberation upon these subjects with closed doors, from the 15th of December to the 5th of the following January :\* the sentiments of particular members on the various subjects of their deliberation have not been preserved or published; and are to be learned only from their report and recommendations published at the close of the session, and the journal of their daily proceedings lodged in the office of the secretary of the state of Massachusetts, and since published. On the great leading point proposed by the Massachusetts resolutions, "*withholding the public revenue, and appropriating it to their own defence,*" the convention decided that it could not be done without the consent of congress; they therefore recommended that an earnest application should be made for that purpose. No doubt such an application might be made without violating any principle of the constitution; but the wisdom of the measure and the probability of its success, presented very different questions. It would ill become the congress of the United States, specially intrusted with the defence of the country, and vested with all its resources for that purpose, to say to a particular section, take your own resources and defend yourselves; this would be an invitation to the enemy to bend all its efforts to subdue the section thus abandoned, and to the section itself to make its submission upon the best terms in its power. This recommendation however, was adopted by two of the states, and an embassy sent to congress to make the proposition, with instructions also to apply to have the expenses already incurred by them in calling out the militia, when not under the orders of the general government adjusted and allowed. The news of peace arriving at Washington at the same time with the embassy, superseded the application on the first head; and on the second, it has ever been unsuccessful. The measure, however, answered the purpose for which it was

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\* Journal of the Hartford Convention.

originally designed, that of allaying the existing ferment by exciting future expectations.

It appeared to the convention, obviously inexpedient to take any measures for calling a general convention of all the states for the purpose of radically altering or changing the form of government; that the public expectation, however, might not be entirely disappointed on this head, the convention recommended certain specific amendments of minor consideration to be obtained in the mode pointed out by the constitution.

1st. That representatives and direct taxes be apportioned according to the respective numbers of free persons not including slaves or Indians.

2d. No new state be admitted without the consent of two-thirds of both houses.

3d. Congress shall not have power to lay an embargo for a longer term than sixty days.

4th. Congress shall not have power without the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States, and any foreign power or its dependencies.

5th. Congress shall not have power to declare war, or authorize acts of hostility against any foreign nation, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses, except such acts of hostility be in defence of the territories of the United States when actually invaded.

6th. No person who shall hereafter be naturalized, shall be eligible as a member of the senate, or house of representatives, or capable of holding any office under the United States.

7th. The same person shall not be eligible to the office of President of the United States a second time; nor shall the President be elected from the same state two terms in succession.

The operation of these amendments would have been to place in the hands of the senators of seven of the minor

states, whose population does not exceed a sixth part of the union, a controlling power over most of the important acts of the government. Before these amendments could be received as a part of the constitution, they must be adopted by the legislatures of three-fourths of all the states. It could not be seriously expected that these states should surrender the right of self-government to so small a portion of their population. The propositions however, served the purpose of occupying the public attention for the time. Two of the states adopted and transmitted them to all the others for consideration, where they were uniformly rejected, accompanied in some instances with severe animadversions on the body from which they emanated. The report of the convention, containing the result of their deliberations was immediately published, and transmitted to the executives of the states appointing them. It contained strictures of peculiar severity on many of the measures of the general government, by them deemed impolitic and unconstitutional. It recommends that the evils to which the New-England states are subject by these measures, should be longer borne rather than to seek relief by any violent or unconstitutional means.

It recommends to the legislatures of the states represented in the convention, to adopt all such measures as may be necessary to protect their citizens from the operation and effect of all acts which have been or may be passed by congress, which shall contain provisions subjecting their militia or other citizens to forceable drafts, conscriptions, or impressments, not authorized by the constitution of the United States. That a legislative body may transcend its authority, and pass acts not authorized by the instrument by which it is created, the acts of every legislature of limited powers, evince. Some acts of congress have been declared unconstitutional by the supreme judicial authority of the nation. It is, however, assuming a high and unwarrantable prerogative for a state legislature of subordinate authority, to declare the acts of the supreme legislative power, void, and absolve the



citizens from their obligations of obedience. For the state legislatures to take measures to protect their citizens against such acts of congress as they deem unconstitutional, is subversive of the principles upon which the union is founded. A power in one legislature to enact, and in another to declare void the same acts, cannot co-exist. One state only followed this recommendation of the convention, and happily their act upon the subject was never attempted to be executed.

The report further recommends, that the legislatures pass laws authorizing the commanders in chief of the militia, to make detachments of the same, or from volunteer corps, and cause them to be well armed, equipped, disciplined, and held in readiness for service, and upon request of the governors of either of the other states, to employ the whole, or such detachment or corps, as well as the regular force of such state or such part thereof as may be spared consistently with their own safety, to assist the state making such request to repel any invasion thereof by the public enemy.

The convention further resolved, that if the application of these states to the general government should be unsuccessful, and peace should not be concluded, and the defence of these states should be neglected as it had been since the commencement of the war; it would be expedient for the legislatures to appoint delegates to meet at Boston on the third Thursday of the following June, with such powers and instructions as the exigencies of a crisis so momentous might require, and that the first named delegates in each state, or either two of them might call a meeting of this convention to be holden at Boston at any time before new delegates were chosen, if in their judgment, the situation of the country should urgently require it. Having in this manner executed their commission, the convention closed their session on the 5th of January, 1815.\*

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\* Report of the convention, January 1815.

What a second convention might have done, had the war with all its embarrassments and calamities continued, is a fruitless inquiry. It was a subject of congratulation to all, that the treaty of peace, concluded before and ratified soon after the rising of the convention, put an end to all question on the subject. It operated, however, as a political ostracism upon the unfortunate members; while those under whose appointment they acted, and whose expectations were scarcely realized, escaped the odium.

## CHAPTER XXI.

Third Session of the 13th Congress.—Message.—Proposition to remove the Seat of Government; negatived.—Mr. Dallas appointed to the Treasury Department.—His Exposé.—His Propositions for the Improvement of the Finances.—His Scheme for a National Bank.—The Bill for the establishment of a Bank passed both Houses.—Disapproved by the President.—Returned and negatived.—State of the Circulating Medium, and of Public and Private Credit.—Duties of the Secretary at War assigned to Mr. Monroe.—His Exposé of the State of the Army, and the Recruiting Service.—His Plan for raising an Army for the year 1815.—Mr. Giles's Bill adopted.—Report of the Secretary of the Navy.

*Meeting of Congress.* THE period fixed by a law of the last session for the next meeting of the 13th congress, was the last Monday in October, 1814. But the general pacification in Europe, and the destination of the British land and naval forces which had been engaged in the European contest to the American war, rendered an earlier meeting necessary. Soon after the intelligence of these events arrived, the President issued a proclamation convening congress on the 19th of September.

*Message.* His message of the 20th informed them that no intelligence had as yet been received from the envoys at Ghent: that from the principles and manner in which the war is now avowedly carried on, they had every reason to infer that a spirit of hostility more violent than ever is indulged against the rights and prosperity of the country. This increased violence, the President observes, is best explained by the two important circumstances, that the great contest in Europe, for an equilibrium guarantying to all the states their rights against the ambition of any, has been closed without any check on the overbearing power of Great Britain on

the ocean; and that it has left on her hands disposable armaments, with which, forgetting the difficulties of a remote war against a free people, and yielding to the intoxication of success, with a great victim before her eyes, she cherishes hopes of still further aggrandizement. But whatever may have inspired the enemy with these more violent purposes, the public councils of this nation, more able to maintain than to acquire its independence, can never deliberate but upon the means most effectual for defeating the extravagant views of the enemy. The various successes of the American arms in the campaign of 1814 are brought into view as motives for increased and more vigorous exertions. From the view of the national affairs which the present crisis presents, congress will be urged, the President remarks, without delay, to take up the subject of pecuniary supplies, and the military force, on a scale commensurate with the extent and character which the war has now assumed. The situation of the country calls for its greatest efforts. The enemy, powerful in men and money, on the land and water, is aiming, with an undivided force, a deadly blow at the growing prosperity of the country. He has openly avowed his purpose of trampling on the usages of civilized war, and given earnest of it in the plunder and wanton destruction of private property. From such an adversary, hostility, in its greatest force and in its worst forms, is to be expected. The American people must face it with the same undaunted spirit, which in the revolutionary struggle defeated his unrighteous projects. The message concludes with a strong appeal to the patriotism of the American people, and a reliance on the support of an omnipotent and kind Providence.\*

Immediately after the destruction of the capitol, the President directed another building to be provided and fitted up for the accommodation of congress. Though every exertion was made for that purpose, yet the short time in which it was

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\* Message of the 20th of Sept. 1814.



necessarily done, prevented such arrangements being made as were desirable. The city of Philadelphia, and borough of Lancaster, each offered to provide sufficient accommodations, should congress deem it proper to remove. Soon after the meeting of congress, a resolution was introduced and passed by the casting vote of the speaker, declaring it expedient to remove the seat of government from the city of Washington. But on the final question on the passage of a bill to that effect, it was negatived: ayes 74; nays 83.

*Finance.* The attention of congress was first directed to the financial concerns of the nation.

*Circulating Medium.* At this period nine-tenths of the circulating medium in the United States was bank paper, issued by institutions incorporated for banking purposes under the authority of the several states. These institutions to the amount of nearly a hundred, had grown up with the increase of commerce in the United States since the revolution. Their issues of paper were always supposed to be bottomed upon a specie capital, paid in, and deposited in the vaults of the bank, where the bill-holder might always resort, and convert his bill into specie; and this was the case with the exception of a few banks, the management of whose concerns had fallen into the hands of swindlers, until the commencement of the year 1814. The specie by which the banks were supplied, was obtained principally from the exportation of American productions. This source was almost entirely cut off by the war. Indeed very little specie found its way into the United States except what was obtained by an illicit commerce with the enemy. The specie in the country at the commencement of the war was withdrawn from the banks by the bill-holders, and either exported or hoarded in private coffers. In this situation these institutions were reduced to the alternative of suspending specie payments, or of collecting in their debts from their customers, and suspending their ordinary operations of discounting. The banks south and west of New-England generally adopted the former, and the

New-England banks the latter alternative. The consequence was, the bills of the specie banks disappeared; the other banks continued and enlarged their business, made more liberal discounts, and supplied nearly the whole circulating medium, which now became a depreciated paper. This struck at once at the foundation of public and private credit. The wary capitalist preferred having his funds lie unproductive to the hazard of exchanging them for any paper. A general distrust and want of confidence in each other prevailed among all classes. The public credit of the government suffered equally with that of individuals; its depression was such as to threaten a suspension of important military operations.

*Loan of twenty-five millions.* In executing the authority given by the act of March 1814, to borrow twenty-five millions of dollars, a loan of ten millions, part of that sum, was opened on the 2d of May. No money could be obtained on this loan short of a discount of twelve per cent., and with a further stipulation, that if a greater discount should be made upon the residue of the loan, the subscribers to the ten millions should be placed upon the same ground. Of this sum, only six millions reached the treasury by the first of July, and the subscribers to the amount of two millions finally failed of paying. On the 22d of August, another loan was opened for six millions, but the whole amount offered at any rate was less than three, and this at a discount of twenty per cent. Notwithstanding this reduced rate, the secretary of the treasury states, that considering the market price of United States stock, hardly exceeded eighty per cent., and as there was no prospect of obtaining money upon better terms, and money at some rate was indispensable to the public service, it was deemed adviseable to accept the sum offered at this rate. Another three millions of this stock was created, and sent to market in Europe. At the same time there were in circulation eight millions of treasury notes, one half of which was reimbursible during the year 1814, and being receivable on all

taxes, and debts due the United States, would intercept and in effect diminish the revenue to that amount. In this situation Mr. Campbell left the treasury in October 1814.

This department suffered much by frequent changes of its principal officer, during a period when uniformity and efficiency of operations were most essential. In April 1813, Mr. Gallatin was taken from the head of the treasury department, and sent on the peace embassy. This officer was a financier of distinguished talents; had the benefit of twelve years experience at the head of the treasury; and had digested a plan, and commenced the operation of a system of finance adapted to a state of war; when he was unexpectedly removed from the discharge of the official duties of the department, still retaining the office, appointed a commissioner under the Russian mediation, and immediately despatched to Petersburg for the purpose of meeting British negotiators, whom that government never saw fit to appoint. This measure was adopted during the recess of the senate, and when submitted to them for approbation, the officer was on his way to Europe in the execution of his commission. The senate strongly remonstrated against, but finally confirmed the appointment. The business of the department for the remainder of that year, was confided to Mr. Jones, the secretary of the navy. Early in 1814, Mr. Campbell was appointed, and took charge of the department until the October following, when Mr. Dallas was appointed his successor.

*Mr. Dallas's Exposé.* On the 17th of October, Mr. Dallas, in answer to inquiries from the committee of ways and means, gave an exposé of the state of the treasury at the commencement of his official duties. Contemplating the present state of the finances, he observes, a deficiency of the revenue, and a depreciation of public credit exist from causes which cannot be ascribed to the want of resources, or want of integrity in the nation. The most operative causes have been the inadequacy of the system of taxation to form the basis of public credit, and the abuse of the means best adapted to antici-

pate, collect, and distribute the public revenue. The wealth of the nation has remained almost wholly untouched by the hand of government. The national faith, and not the national wealth, has hitherto been the principal instrument of finance. It was to be expected, however, that a period must arrive in the course of a protracted war, when confidence in the accumulating public engagements could only be secured by an active demonstration of the capacity and disposition to perform them. A prompt and resolute application of the resources of the country will effectually relieve from every pecuniary embarrassment, and vindicate the fiscal honour of the government.

The public exigencies require a supply of treasure for the prosecution of the war, far beyond any amount which it is either politic or practicable to obtain by an immediate and constant imposition of taxes. Resort must therefore be had to credit. Public credit is at this juncture so depressed, that no hope of adequate succour, on moderate terms, can be placed upon it. Hence it becomes the first and last object in every practical scheme of finance to reanimate the confidence of the citizens, and to impress on the mind of every person, who renders services, furnishes supplies, or advances money on public account, a perfect conviction of the punctuality as well as the security of government. We have now not merely the care of preserving a credit which has never been impaired, but the more difficult task of rescuing from reproach, a credit over which doubt and apprehension have cast an inauspicious shade. No exertion will be found competent to attain this object which does not quiet in every mind all fear of future loss and disappointment in consequence of trusting to the pledges of public faith.

The circulating medium of the country, the secretary adds, is another copious source of mischief and embarrassment. The recent exportations of specie has considerably diminished the fund of gold and silver coin; and another portion



of it has been withdrawn by the timid, and wary from the use of the community, into the coffers of individuals. The multiplication of banks has so increased the quantity of paper currency, that it is difficult to calculate its amount or ascertain its value, with reference to the capital on which it has been issued. It may therefore be affirmed that there exists at this time no adequate circulating medium common to the citizens of the United States. The moneyed transactions of private life are at a stand, and the fiscal operations of government labour with extreme inconvenience. It is impossible that such a state of things can long be endured, and with legislative aid, it is not necessary. Under favourable circumstances, and to a limited extent, an emission of treasury notes would probably afford relief, but they are an expensive and precarious substitute for coin or bank notes, charged as they are with a growing interest, productive of no countervailing profit, and exposed to every breath of popular prejudice and alarm.

The establishment of a national institution operating upon credit, combined with capital, and regulated by prudence and good faith, is, after all, the only efficient remedy for the disordered state of the circulating medium. It will be a safe depository for the public treasure, and a constant auxiliary to public credit. But whether the issues of a paper currency proceed from the national treasury or a national bank, the acceptance of the paper in a course of payments must be for ever optional with the citizens. The extremity of that day cannot be anticipated, when any enlightened statesman shall again venture upon the desperate expedient of a tender law. Having thus generally delineated the fiscal concerns of the nation, the secretary next proceeds to offer the following specific propositions, which in his opinion would place public credit upon a permanent basis, and furnish an eligible circulating medium.

1st. That during the war, and until the claims contemplated in these propositions are extinguished there should be annually raised by taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, a fund,

For the support of government of . . . . .	\$1,500,000
For the principal and interest of the public debt due before the war . . . . .	3,500,000
Interest on the war debt estimated at seventy-two millions . . . . .	4,320,000
For the payment of treasury notes . . . . .	7,400,000
For the payment of any liquidated balances where there are no specific appropriations . . . . .	280,000
For the current expenses of the war in part . . . . .	2,000,000
For a sinking fund . . . . .	500,000
For a contingent fund to meet sudden and occasional demands on the treasury . . . . .	1,500,000
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	\$21,000,000

2d. That this sum be raised by the customs estimated at . . . . .

Existing internal duties . . . . .	\$4,000,000
Direct tax . . . . .	2,700,000
Sales of public lands . . . . .	2,500,000
By an addition of one hundred per cent. upon the direct tax, sales at auction, rates of postage, and duties on carriages . . . . .	800,000
By an addition of fifty per cent. on retailing licenses . . . . .	3,700,000
By the proceeds of new duties, viz. by a tax on domestic distilled spirits of twenty-five cents per gallon in addition to the duty on stills . . . . .	300,000
On other manufactures not hitherto taxed . . . . .	6,000,000
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	\$21,000,000

3d. That a national bank be established at Philadelphia, with power to establish branches at pleasure, and with a capital of fifty millions of dollars; thirty to be subscribed by indi-

viduals, and twenty by the United States. The specie capital to be six millions paid by individuals, the residue to be paid in treasury notes and United States stock: that the United States should have power to take up treasury notes paid in by individuals, and substitute six per cent. stock. That no part of the public stock should be sold by the bank during the war, nor more than half of it afterwards without the consent of congress. And that the bank should be obliged to loan to the United States thirty millions at an interest of six per cent.

4th. That twenty-eight millions be borrowed for the war expenditures of 1815, and afterwards such sums annually as should be necessary to meet the war appropriations.\*

This financial exposé of the secretary of the treasury was received with great anxiety. It presented to the view of congress and the people, the real situation of the national treasury, the state of public credit, and the circulating medium. No effectual provision was made at the commencement of the war for meeting its expenses, other than acts of congress authorizing the borrowing of money, and issuing treasury notes: and no receipts at the treasury were had on account of the war taxes until more than a year after they were imposed. During this time the war debt had accumulated to an amount which threatened the destruction of public credit. Mr. Dallas's measures went in a great degree to correct the evil. The system of taxes and internal duties which he recommended were, with some unimportant variations, adopted.

*National Bank.* On the subject of his project for a national bank, there was a great diversity of sentiment. Whether it was within the constitutional powers of congress to create such an institution, was a question which had long divided public opinion. It was not given by any express clause in the constitution, and by a subsequent amendment it was provided, "that the powers not delegated to the United States by the con-

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\* Mr Dallas's exposé, October 1814.

stitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states, respectively, or to the people." One clause in the constitution gave congress the power to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into effect the powers delegated to them. This general indefinite power, the extent of which is always to be judged of in the first instance by the body who is to exercise it, has ever been construed to extend to any measure which it is found convenient to adopt. With this disposition to a liberal construction of their own powers, the first congress under the constitution established a national bank as a measure necessary and proper to carry into effect the financial powers expressly delegated by the constitution. The measure, however, was severely reprobated by a respectable portion of the legislature as unconstitutional; and when the charter expired it was refused to be renewed. In the extended financial operations incident to a state of war; and in the absence of a specie circulating medium, the want of such an institution was greatly felt, and constitutional scruples disappeared. But to the project of the secretary, there were peculiar objections. This bank was to consist of a specie capital of six millions only; the other forty-four were to consist of debt against the United States, which the bank could not alienate, or in any manner convert into active capital, and of course could afford no aid in banking operations. With these limited means, the bank was required to loan, at the call of government, thirty millions, or five times its active capital, and to furnish a circulating medium for the nation: its discounts of course must be liberal: it must throw out an immense quantity of bills into circulation; to restrain which there was no limitation. The consequence must be a want of means to redeem its bills in specie; and another inevitable consequence, a depreciation of the currency. It might afford a convenient mode of disposing of forty-four millions of the public debt, but the sacrifice was deemed too great. It was nothing more than a paper money scheme in the hands of individuals who might pervert it to the most per-



nicious purposes. The committee of ways and means, however, reported a bill to the house, establishing a bank upon the secretary's principles. After undergoing a discussion of several weeks, the features of the bill were entirely changed. It was altered from a paper to a specie bank. It was holden to redeem its bills with specie; and for this purpose, the treasury notes, and one-half the United States stock paid in by subscribers, might be sold in market at the pleasure of the bank; and the institution was to be under no obligation to loan money to the government. The capital was to consist of thirty millions, one-sixth part specie, and the other United States stock and treasury notes. A bill incorporating a bank upon these principles finally passed both houses, and was presented to the President for approbation. The executive, preferring the system of the secretary, disapproved the bill, and returned it with his objections, stating that waiving the constitutional question which he considered as being at rest by the various acts of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the government, the bank in his opinion was calculated to afford no efficient aid to the government. The amount of public stock, which would be absorbed by the bank, and which they would be obliged to retain, would have no sensible effect to raise the public credit; while by throwing into market such parts of it as they were authorized to sell, they might contribute to its further depression. Not being obliged to loan money to government, no reasonable expectation of benefit was to be expected from that source, and being obliged to redeem their bills by specie payments, they would be so confined in their operations as not to afford a circulating medium. That the six millions of specie paid in by the subscribers would probably soon be drawn out for exportation which would further increase the embarrassments arising from the want of a specie circulating medium. That a bank, with the exclusive privileges conferred on this, ought to purchase their charter either directly by an adequate bonus, or indirectly by being obliged to make loans to gov-

ernment to a certain amount when required; neither of which was provided for in the act. The bill, being returned to the senate with the President's objections, failed of being supported by a majority of two-thirds, and was negatived.

*Treasury Estimates.* On the 27th of January, the secretary presented another report, stating that the charges on the treasury for the year 1814, consisting of unsatisfied appropriations of the preceding year, the sums necessary to meet the engagement of the public debt, and the appropriations for the year 1814, amounted to \$57,694,590.70. That the ways and means provided to meet these demands were,

Cash in the treasury on the 1st of January, 1814, . . . . .	\$5,196,482
Amount of cash received for revenue, of every description, in 1814, . . . . .	11,311,353
Proceeds of loans and treasury notes in 1813, and received in 1814, . . . . .	4,662,665
Authority to borrow and issue treasury notes for the service of the year 1814, . . . . .	36,000,000
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	\$57,170,500

On this statement the secretary remarks, the calls on the treasury are positive and urgent; the ways and means depending principally on the loans as yet unobtained, are precarious, and not to be relied on.

The estimates for the year 1815, he states to be,

For the civil, diplomatic, and miscellaneous expenses, . . . . .	\$1,979,289
Military department, . . . . .	30,342,238
Naval department, . . . . .	8,217,362
Public debt necessary to be provided for in 1815, . . . . .	15,493,145
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	\$ 56,032,034

The ways and means for 1815 are the existing sources of supply embracing cash in the treasury, direct tax, customs, internal duties, and all incidental receipts, and amount to

15,125,909, leaving a deficit of more than forty millions, to be provided for by additional internal taxes, loans, and issues of treasury notes. This deficit of forty millions for the service of the year 1815, together with the unobtained loans for 1814, both amounting to seventy-six millions, presented a most unpromising aspect. After making his statement in detail, the secretary concludes the communication by remarking, that when he perceives that more than forty millions are to be raised for the service of the year 1815, by an appeal to public credit through the medium of loans and treasury notes, he feels the utmost solicitude for the event. The unpromising state of public credit, and the obstructed state of the circulating medium, are sufficiently known. A liberal imposition of taxes during the present session, ought to raise the public credit, were it not for countervailing causes; but it can have no effect in furnishing a national circulating medium. It remains therefore with the wisdom of Congress to decide whether any other means can be applied to restore public credit, re-establish a national circulating medium, and facilitate the anticipations of the public revenue. The opinion of this department has been heretofore frankly expressed, and it remains unchanged.

*Military Exposé.*—A view of the military establishment in prospect for the year 1815, was as unpromising as that of the treasury. The duties of the department of war had in the month of September been assigned to the secretary of state; and on the 17th of October, Mr. Monroe as acting secretary at war, in answer to a letter from the chairman of the military committee, gave a detailed exposition of the state of the military department, of the force necessary for the service of the year 1815, and of the means of obtaining it. He states that an effective force of one hundred thousand men will be necessary for the service of the year 1815. He recommends that the present military establishment of 62,448 men, be preserved and filled up, and an additional permanent force of forty thousand, be raised for the defence of the sea-board and frontiers. In

proposing these measures, the secretary adds, "it is now apparent that the object of the British government, by striking at the principal sources of prosperity, is to diminish the importance, if not destroy the political existence of the United States. Forced now to contend for our liberties and independence, we are called upon to display all the patriotism which distinguished Americans in the first great struggle. The United States must relinquish no right, or perish in the attempt. There was no middle ground to rest on. The stronger the pressure, and the greater the danger, the more firm and vigorous will be the resistance, and the more successful the result. It is the avowed purpose of the enemy to lay waste and destroy our cities and villages, and desolate the country, of which numerous examples had already been afforded. It is evidently his intention to press the war along the whole extent of the sea-board, and from Canada to invade the adjoining states; while at the same time, attempts are made on the city of New-York and other important points, in the vain project of dismemberment or subjugation. A part of his scheme evidently appears to be to continue the invasion of this part of the union, while a separate force attacks the state of Louisiana in the hope of taking possession of New-Orleans, and the mouth of the Mississippi, the great outlet and key to the commerce of all that portion of the United States west of the Alleghany mountains. The advantage which a great naval superiority gives the enemy by enabling him to move his troops with celerity, from one quarter to another, from Maine to Mississippi, along a coast of two thousand miles, is very great. A small force moved in this manner, for the purposes avowed by the British commander, creates an alarm in every part. If the militia are to be relied on as the principal defence of the coast against these predatory and desolating incursions, by interfering with their ordinary pursuits of industry, it will be attended with serious interruption and loss to them, and injury to the public. It is an object therefore of the highest importance to provide a



regular force with the means of transporting it from one quarter to another, thereby following the movements of the enemy with the greatest possible rapidity in repelling his attacks, wherever they may be made. Three times the force in militia has been employed, the secretary stated, at our principal cities on the coast and on the frontier, and in marching to and returning from thence, that would have been necessary in regular troops, and the expense has been more than proportionably augmented. But to bring the war to an honourable termination, we must not be contented with merely defending ourselves. Different feelings must be touched, and different apprehensions excited in the British government. By pushing the war into Canada, the friendship of the Indian tribes is secured, and their services commanded, which would be otherwise turned against us. The coast is relieved from the desolation threatened, and we have in our hands a safe pledge of an honourable peace. From this view of the subject, it will be necessary to bring into the field a regular army of one hundred thousand effective men for the next campaign. Such a force, aided in extraordinary emergencies by volunteers, and militia, will remove all inquietude, as to the final result of the contest, and secure to the United States a safe and honourable peace."

But the great question remains, how is this force to be obtained? For the recruiting service of the last year a bounty has been offered of one hundred and twenty-four dollars, and one hundred and sixty acres of land to each recruit, ninety-six dollars a year wages, and clothing during the time of service. Recruiting rendezvous had been opened at sixty different places in the United States, and to ensure the activity of recruiting officers, they were allowed four dollars for each man obtained. Two millions of dollars had been paid out in bounties and premiums in the recruiting service, from January to September, 1814, and during that time, and with these exertions, only thirteen thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight men had been obtained; and not more than one

half of that number had reached the army in season for active service in the campaign of 1814. The army, which on paper stood at 62,448 men, did not at the close of the campaign exceed half that number of effectives. The recruiting service for the ensuing year was still more unpromising. The campaign of 1814 had been severe, fatiguing, and hazardous; that of 1815 wore a still more threatening aspect. The soldier had now to expect to meet the veteran troops of Great Britain, inured to twenty years' service in the open field. Nearly all those who could be supposed willing, either from motives of patriotism or interest, to pledge their lives to government had already been enlisted; and it would be perfectly vain and illusory to attempt the raising of seventy thousand men, the number wanted according to the secretary's estimate, by voluntary enlistment.

*Plan of the Secretary at War for filling the Ranks of the Army.* With these views, the secretary, who was not a man to propose an object without adequate means to accomplish it, was induced to abandon the system of voluntary enlistment, and propose one of compulsory service. His report embraced four plans; but the first and the one which he strongly recommended, was by far the most simple, energetic, and effectual. He proposed that the free male population of the United States, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, and which according to the census of eighteen hundred and ten, amounted to between nine and ten hundred thousand, should be formed into classes of one hundred men each, by local precincts, with a view to the equal distribution of property among the several classes; and that each class furnish their proportion of men required within thirty days after the classification, and replace them in case of casualty: all the taxable property within the precinct of each class to be taxed to pay an extra bounty to the recruits. The men wanted were to be designated by draft, if volunteers did not offer. Estimating the whole number of citizens of the requisite age at a million, and the number wanted at seventy thousand,

would give seven men to each class. The recruits to be delivered over to the recruiting officer of the district, and marched to such place of general rendezvous as should be designated by the secretary at war. Particular persons in each county to be appointed by the President to carry this system into execution.

The secretary, aware that this was bringing the war home to the feelings of congress and their constituents, and that there probably might be strong objections to the plan, assigns his reasons for the measure. That it will be effectual, cannot, he observes, be doubted; the men contemplated will soon be raised, and there can be no well grounded constitutional objections. Congress have a right to declare war and to raise regular armies without restriction. It is intended that this plan should operate on all alike; none are exempted but the chief magistrate of the United States, and the governors of the several states. It would be absurd to suppose that congress could not carry this power into effect, otherwise than by accepting the voluntary services of individuals. It might happen that an army could not be raised in that mode; the power then would have been granted in vain. The safety of the state might depend upon such an army, and be jeopardized by delay. Long continued invasions, conducted by regular and well diciplined troops, can best be repelled by troops of the same character. Courage is in a great degree mechanical. A small body, well trained, accustomed to action, and gallantly led on, often breaks down three or four times the number of more respectable and brave, but raw and undiciplined troops. The sense of danger is diminished by frequent exposure without harm; and confidence inspired by a knowledge that reliance may be placed on others: this knowledge is obtained in no other way but by actual service together. The power granted to congress to raise armies, was made with a knowledge of all these circumstances. The framers of the constitution, and the states who ratified it, knew

the advantage which an enemy might have by regular forces, and intended to place their country on an equal footing.

The idea that Congress cannot raise an army in any other mode than by accepting the voluntary services of individuals, the secretary observes, is repugnant to the uniform construction of all grants of power, and to the first principles and leading objects of the constitution. An unqualified grant of power gives the necessary means of carrying it into effect. This is a universal law of construction that admits of no exception. The conservation of the state is a duty paramount to all others. The commonwealth has a right to the services of all its citizens ; or rather the citizens composing the commonwealth have a right to the services of each other to repel any danger which may be threatened. In what manner this service is to be apportioned among the citizens is the object of legislation. All that is to be dreaded in such cases is the abuse of power, and the constitution has provided ample security against that evil. In support of the position that congress have a right to compel the military services of individuals, the militia laws are a conclusive proof and a striking example. That whole system is founded on compulsion ; the militia man is enrolled at the age of eighteen, disciplined, called into active service, and subject to martial law, without his consent. The militia service calls from home, for long terms, whole districts of country ; none can elude the call ; few can avoid the service ; and those who do are compelled to pay great sums for substitutes. The plan proposed fixes upon no one personally, and opens to all a chance of declining the service. It is the principal object of this plan to engage in defence of the state, the unmarried and youthful, who can best be spared, and to secure to them an adequate compensation, from the voluntary contributions of the more wealthy of every class. Great confidence is entertained that such contribution will be made in time to avoid a draft. The secretary finally adduced in support of his plan, the example of the revolutionary war,



It then filled the ranks of the regular army, and led to a successful termination of the contest. Should the United States make this exertion, the war would probably soon end. It is in their power to expel the British from the American continent. Against the united and vigorous efforts of America, the resistance of the enemy must be feeble. Success in defeating the schemes of the enemy, and obtaining an honourable peace, will place the United States on higher ground in the opinion of the world, than they have ever held at any former period. In future European wars, their commerce will be allowed to take its lawful range unmolested : respected abroad, and happy at home, the United States will have accomplished the great objects for which they have so long contended : as a nation they will have little to dread, as a people little to desire.\*

To fill the ranks of the existing army, the secretary calculated, would require four to each class, and about the same number to raise the proposed additional corps of forty thousand. It was only to constitute every twelfth free male citizen of the United States, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, a soldier during the war, and all the brilliant objects enumerated in the secretary's report would probably be realized. Three other plans were proposed as substitutes for this, but all of them being less efficient, and equally objectionable ; the secretary relied on this for the further prosecution of the war.

Two objects were proposed by the raising of this army : one, the defence of the territory ; the other, the conquest of Canada. But his arguments were now addressed to a body who had given up the plan of the Canadian conquest, and whose undivided attention was directed to an efficient system of defence.

The secretaries of the treasury and war, both recently appointed to those offices, in their reports to congress, laid open with great faithfulness and ability the embarrassments under

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\* Report of the acting secretary at war, October 1814.

which the financial and military affairs of the nation laboured, and proposed remedies, bold, energetic, and effectual, but such as at the commencement of the war were little anticipated. It was not expected that in a contest for the rights of some thousands of American seamen, who had been grossly injured, these seamen would in consequence thereof be immured in Dartmoor prison, and one hundred thousand free citizens of the United States be compelled to fill the ranks of the army. But war once declared, there was no resting point; the blood and treasure of the nation were pledged for its support; and that legislature who are not prepared, if the occasion calls, to compel every citizen, capable of bearing arms, to take their stand in the ranks of the army, and to take so much of the treasure of the nation as is necessary to accomplish the objects of the contest, even to its last cent, must not declare war. Such, however, was not the temper of congress, nor could they be brought to it by the reasonings of the secretaries.

The plan of the secretary at war was not even honoured with a discussion in either house of congress. No bill was ever introduced embracing its principles. The measure was deemed too strong, and too nearly allied to European conscriptions and impressments for republican America.

As a substitute, Mr. Giles, of the military committee, introduced a bill into the senate, authorizing the President to call upon the executives of each state, for their proportion of eighty thousand militia, to serve for the term of two years, within the limits of the United States, and confined also to the state in which they were raised, or an adjoining state. This corps was to be raised by draft, on failure of volunteers offering themselves; and for this purpose, all persons subject to military duty were to be classed, with reference also to property, in such manner, that one from each class could supply the requisite number. Their services, being confined within the limits of the United States, were to be merely of a defensive character. This bill, with little va-

riation, passed both houses ; and being a substitute for the regular force contemplated by the secretary at war, manifested an unequivocal determination to abandon the project of conquering the Canadas.

*Enlistment of Minors.* Another bill was also introduced from the same committee in aid of the recruiting service, increasing the land bounty to 320 acres, and providing that persons under the age of twenty-one years may be enlisted without the consent of their parents, guardians, or masters. The last provision was opposed as impolitic, tending to seduce and corrupt the morals of the American youth ; to take them from the wise and wholesome restraint of their parents and guardians, and expose them to the seduction and licentiousness of the camp, before they had arrived to years of discretion : that it was clothing them with the power of binding themselves by their contracts in a most important point, when by the laws of all the states they were deemed incapable of making contracts : that it was unconstitutional, as it impaired and defeated the existing obligations of a lawful contract between the minor apprentice and his master. These objections however, were overruled, and the bill with this provision passed, on the ground that persons of this age ever constituted an important part of the military national force : that such persons usually made the best soldiers, would more easily learn, and readily submit to the discipline of the camp, and that a nation at war, was entitled to the services of all its citizens capable of bearing arms for its defence.

*Report of the Secretary of the Navy.* The secretary of the navy, in his report of the 15th of November, in a mild, qualified, and cautious manner, recommended the impressment of American seamen for the supply of the navy. His proposition was that some regular system be established, by which the voluntary enlistments for the navy may derive occasional reinforcement from the service of those seamen, who, pursuing their own private occupations, are exempt from public

service of any kind; and that, for this purpose, descriptive registers be kept in each district, of all the seamen belonging to the United States; and that provision be made by law for classing them, and calling into public service, in succession, for reasonable stated periods, such portions or classes as the public service might require. He also recommended the establishment of a board of navy inspectors, to have the general superintendence and direction of the affairs of the navy, and authority over all the officers and agents employed in that department: that naval stations be designated within the United States by convenient boundaries, and an officer of rank and confidence should reside in each, who should, under the instructions of the navy board, superintend and control the officers of the navy within his district.

In the senate, Mr. Tait, from the committee of naval affairs, reported a resolution for the appointment of admirals. In congress, the project of the secretary for registering and classing the seamen, and calling or impressing them into public service, was rejected, more on account of the popular odium attached to the idea of impressment or compulsory service, than any intrinsic objection to the plan. Experience has demonstrated that a navy is the cheapest, and only adequate mode of defence. Should the United States ever be engaged in another war, it must be of a maritime character. Government has done much for its sea-faring citizens: the present war is carried on, and nearly a hundred million of dollars has been expended, in vindication of their rights. Their brethren on land have marched to the Canadian border, endured every hardship, and laid down their lives by thousands in support of their cause. The government then have an unquestionable right to their services when required to man its navy. The most desirable mode is voluntary enlistment; but in times of great danger this source may fail, and resort must be had to compulsion. Here two plans only present themselves; one the English mode of sending out press gangs, seizing sailors wherever they can be found, and



dragging them on board the ships of war; the other, the one pointed out by the secretary; of the two, no American can doubt which is the most eligible. The proposition of the naval committee for the appointment of admirals, was also rejected: congress however, in pursuance of the secretary's plan, established a board of commissioners for the naval service, to consist of three officers of rank, not under that of post captain. This board was attached to the office of the secretary, and under his superintendence, to discharge many of the important duties assigned to it, relative to the procurement of naval stores, and materials for the construction and armament of ships of war, relative to their employment, and to all matters connected with the naval establishment of the United States.

At an early period of the session, communications were received, and laid before congress from the American envoys at Ghent, which precluded all reasonable expectations of peace. They contained what was then declared to be the British ultimatum, and which was such as none but a conquered country would accept. No alternative therefore appeared, but to prosecute the war in future by the compulsory service of the citizens, either in some of the methods pointed out by the secretary at war, or in some other manner to be devised by the wisdom of congress.

*Peace.* While difficulties of the most serious nature in the military and fiscal concerns of the nation seemed to be accumulating upon the administration; and congress and the people were looking forward with great anxiety to the events of the coming year; the long wished for but unexpected news of peace arrived on the 13th of February, and relieved the administration and the country from all embarrassment.

At no period since the darkest time of the revolutionary war had the affairs of the United States ever assumed so unpromising an aspect. Congress, convened over the smoking ruins of the capitol, had before them an actual deficit of thirty-nine millions, and an estimate for the service of the

coming year, of upwards of thirty millions to be supplied only by loans, without credit to borrow a dollar on any terms short of such as indicated a bankruptcy; no system of taxation adequate to the payment of the interest of the moneys required: no circulating medium in which the public had any confidence, for the transaction of private business, or the collection of the revenue: the union invaded at each extremity: eighty thousand men necessary for the objects of the war, and none to be obtained but by a conscription or compulsory draft of the same character, and embracing as great a proportion of citizens, as had ever been adopted in France. These circumstances prepared the people and the government cordially to embrace the terms of peace.

## CHAPTER XXII.

Russian Mediation proposed to Mr. Adams.—Communicated to the American Government.—Accepted.—Appointment of Envoys.—Their Instructions.—Mediation rejected by the Prince Regent.—British Proposition for a Direct Negotiation.—Accepted by the United States.—Appointment of Additional Envoys.—Their Instructions.—Meeting of the British and American Envoys at Ghent.—British Propositions, and Ultimatum.—American Propositions.—British Envoys communicate with their Government, and receive different Instructions.—Their Ultimatum waived.—The Negotiations proceed, and terminate in a Treaty of Peace.—Treaty ratified by both Governments.—Proceedings at New-Orleans immediately after the Peace.—Rejoicings throughout the United States.—President's Message, communicating the subject to Congress.—Peace Establishment.—Effects of the War on the National Character.

*Russian Mediation proposed.* At the period when the intelligence of the war reached the emperor of Russia, his empire was invaded by a French army which was then approaching his capital, and threatened the subjugation of the nation. The whole Russian population was in arms for the defence of their territory. England was in close alliance with Russia, and was the only European power, not under the control of France. Russia depended on her for important aids at this crisis. It was therefore with the deepest solicitude that the emperor viewed this war, which would necessarily cause a powerful diversion of the English force from their common enemy. Russia was at this time on friendly terms with the United States, and a considerable commerce existed between the two countries, profitable to both. Powerful motives of interest induced the Russian government, to desire a speedy termination of the American war, which they termed an episode to the European. On the 20th of September, 1812, Count Romanzoff the Russian chancellor and

secretary of state, addressed a note to Mr. Adams, the American minister, requesting an interview with him the next evening, at which, by the emperor's command, he stated, that having made peace and established the relations of amity and commerce with Great Britain, the emperor was much disappointed to find, that the whole benefit, which he expected his subjects to derive from that event was likely to be defeated by this new war. That it had occurred to the emperor that an amicable arrangement between the parties might be better accomplished, and the differences more easily accommodated by an indirect, than by a direct negotiation. That his majesty had directed him to inquire if the American ambassador was aware of any difficulty on the part of the United States, if he should offer his mediation for the purpose of effecting a pacification.

Mr Adams replied, that it was impossible for him to speak on the subject otherwise, than from the general knowledge he had of the sentiments of his government. That so far from knowing what their ideas were as to the continuance of the war, he had not at that moment received any official information of its declaration. But that he well knew it was with reluctance that they engaged in the war, and he was very sure that whatever determination they might form upon the proposal of the emperor's mediation, they would consider his proposal as a new evidence of the emperor's friendship for the United States ; and he knew of no obstacle or difficulty which would occasion them to decline it. The American minister proceeded to remark, that he knew the war must affect unfavourably the interests of Russia, be highly injurious both to the United States and England, and no good likely to result from it to any one.

The Count replied, that he had considered it altogether in the same light, and so had the emperor, who had himself conceived the idea of authorizing this mediation. He thought that an indirect negotiation conducted at Petersburg, aided by the conciliatory wishes of a friend to both parties might



smooth down difficulties, which in a direct discussion between the principals, might be found insuperable. To a mutual friend, each party might exhibit all its claims and complaints, without danger of exciting irritation, or raising impediments. The part of Russia would be to hear both sides, and use her best endeavours to conciliate them.\*

On the 8th of March, 1813, Mr. Daschkoff, the Russian minister to the United States, by order of the emperor, communicated his offer of mediation to the American government; observing that his imperial majesty foresees with great regret the shackles which this new episode opposes to the commercial prosperity of nations. The love of humanity, and what the emperor owes to his subjects, whose commerce has already sufficiently suffered, command him to do every thing in his power to remove the evils which this war is preparing for those nations who will not take part in it. His majesty is convinced that America has done all she could to prevent this rupture. In a direct discussion, every thing would tend to excite the prejudices and asperities of the parties; to prevent this, his majesty, gratified at being able to give a proof of his friendship alike to the king of Great Britain and the United States offers them his mediation; and should be highly gratified if a like disposition on the part of the United States should have the effect of stopping the progress of this new war, and of extinguishing it in its origin.

*Accepted by the United States.* This offer of mediation was readily accepted on the part of the United States; and on the 11th of March, the secretary of state answered the note of Mr. Daschkoff by observing, that the President was highly gratified with these strong proofs of that humane and enlightened policy which had characterized the reign of the emperor of Russia; and saw in the overture, and in the circumstances attending it, the friendly interest which his imperial majesty takes in the welfare of the United States. A war

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\* Mr. Adams to the secretary of state.

between Great Britain and the United States, must materially affect the commerce of Russia; and it was worthy of the high character of a prince, distinguished by his attachment to the interests of his subjects, to interpose his good offices for the restoration of peace. The United States, conscious that they were not the aggressors in the contest, but on the contrary, had borne wrongs for a series of years before they appealed to arms in defence of their rights, are ready to lay them down as soon as Great Britain ceases to violate them. Many inconveniences attending a direct communication between the parties, may be avoided by the mediation of a third power, possessing the entire confidence of both belligerents. To the claim of Russia to that distinguished consideration, the President, in behalf of the United States, expresses his full acknowledgment; and in the personal qualities and high character of the emperor, the President finds a sacred pledge for the justice and impartiality which may be expected from his decision. Under these impressions, the President willingly accepts the mediation of the emperor to promote peace between the United States and Great Britain; and such arrangements will be made without delay, as will afford his imperial majesty the opportunity he has invited to interpose his good offices for the accomplishment of so desirable an event.\*

*Commissioners appointed.* In conformity with these views, and without waiting to know whether Great Britain would accept the proposed mediation, the President, in the recess of the senate, immediately appointed Albert Gallatin, and James A. Bayard, in conjunction with Mr. Adams, the American minister at Petersburg, jointly and severally, to negotiate a peace with Great Britain, under the mediation of Russia: the two former to proceed directly from the United States

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\* Correspondence between Mr. Daschkoff and the secretary of state of May 8th and 17th, 1813.

to join their colleague in Russia on the business of their mission.

At the meeting of congress in the following May, the nomination of the envoys was laid before the senate for their approbation. To the appointment of Adams, and Bayard, there were no personal objections. But the senate, impressed with a sense of the singularity of the measure of appointing and sending envoys to Russia, to negotiate a peace with Great Britain, without any assurance or intimation that that power would accede to the negotiation, hesitated to confirm the nominations. To them it appeared that this measure, manifesting an over-anxiety for peace, was calculated to defeat the object. Relying however on the wisdom of the executive, and unwilling to take any measure which should have the appearance of opposition to peace, the nominations of Adams and Bayard were confirmed. Mr. Gallatin being secretary of the treasury, and the duties of that office being at this time of the most urgent nature, his appointment was strenuously opposed. A resolution passed the senate, declaring it incompatible with the public interest to unite the offices of secretary of the treasury and envoy to a foreign court in the same person: and another inquiring of the President whether the office of secretary of the treasury was vacated by the appointment of Mr. Gallatin, and his acceptance of the office of envoy; and if not, under what authority and by whom the duties of that office were to be discharged, in his absence. In reply, the President stated, that the office was not vacated, and that the duties would be discharged, during the absence of Mr. Gallatin, by the secretary of the navy. The senate then appointed a committee to confer with the President upon the subject. On their waiting on him, he observed, that he regretted that the appointment of the envoys was made under circumstances which deprived him of the aid and advice of the senate: he regretted also that they had not taken the same view of the subject that he had done. As a co-ordinate branch of the government, he

could hold no conference with a committee of the senate, on the subject of the appointment. That in relation to treaties, and appointments to office, the President and senate were independent of, and co-ordinate with, each other. If they agree, the appointments are made; if they disagree, they fail. If the senate wish for any information previous to their final decision, the practice has been, ever keeping in view the constitutional relation between the President and senate, to request the executive to furnish it, or to refer the subject to a committee of their body, who might communicate on the subject with the head of the proper department. The appointment of a committee of the senate to confer immediately with the executive himself, seems to lose sight of the co-ordinate relation between the executive and senate, which the constitution has established. The President added, he was entirely persuaded of the purity of the intentions of the senate in the course they had taken, and with which, according to his view of the subject, he could not accord; that they would be cheerfully furnished with all the suitable information on the subject in possession of the executive, in any mode consistent with the principles of the constitution and the settled practice under it. On the question to advise and consent to the appointment of Mr. Gallatin, in the senate the yeas were 17 and the nays 18.\* Mr. Gallatin was, however, long before this, under the appointment of the President in the recess of the senate, on his way to Russia, and his appointment was afterwards confirmed.

*Their Instructions.* On the 15th of April, the envoys were furnished with their full powers, and with their instructions in detail from the department of state. In these it is stated, that "the impressment of of seamen, and illegal blockades, as more particularly exemplified in the orders in council are the principal causes of the war; had not Great Britain obstinately persisted in the violation of these important rights,

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\* Journals of the senate, June 1813.



war would not have been declared. It will cease as soon as their rights are respected. The proposition made by Mr. Russell to the British government immediately after the war, and the answer given soon after to Admiral Warren's letter, show the grounds on which the United States are willing to adjust the controversy relative to impressment. This is further evinced by the report of the committee of foreign relations, and the act of congress in consequence thereof. To accomodate this important difference, the United States are willing to exclude British seamen altogether from the American service. It is fairly to be presumed that if this law is carried into effect, it will exclude all British seamen from American vessels. As a further ground, the President is willing to stipulate, that all native British subjects who shall hereafter be naturalized, shall be with this condition, that they be not employed in the American sea service.

In requiring that the stipulation to exclude British seamen from American vessels, with the regulations for carrying it into effect, be reciprocal ; it is desirable that a provision be made, by which the United States might dispense with the obligation it imposes on American citizens. The liberal spirit of the laws and government of the United States, is unfriendly to restrictions on their citizens, such at least as are imposed on British subjects to prevent their becoming members of other societies. To secure the citizens of the United States against impressment is the object ; a clear and distinct provision must be made against this practice ; the precise form is not insisted on, provided the import be explicit. All that is required is, that in consideration of the act to be performed on the part of the United States, the British government shall stipulate in some adequate manner to terminate or forbear the practice. It has been suggested as an expedient mode of adjusting the controversy, that British cruisers shall have right to search American vessels for their seamen ; but that their commanders shall be subject to penalties in case they make mistakes and take American citizens. By such an ar-

rangement, the British government would acquire the right of search for seamen, and with it, that of impressing from American vessels the subjects of all other powers. By admitting the right, the principle is given up, and the door opened to every kind of abuse. The same objection is applicable to every other arrangement, which withholds the respect due to the American flag, by not allowing it to protect all who sail under it.

As a necessary incident to any mode of adjustment it is expected that all American seamen who have been impressed will be discharged, and those who have been naturalized under British laws by compulsive service be permitted to withdraw. The great object with regard to impressment is, that the American flag shall protect its crew: providing for this in a satisfactory manner, the envoys are empowered effectually to secure Great Britain against the employment of her seamen in the service of the United States, and to adopt any measures consistently with the spirit of the constitution, which shall be likely to accomplish the object. To the exclusion of British seamen from the American service no repugnance is felt. It is a growing sentiment in the United States, that they ought to depend on their own population for the supply of their ships of war, and merchant service; and experience has shown that it is an abundant resource.

A strong desire has heretofore been expressed by the British government, to obtain from the United States an arrangement to prevent the detention of British seamen from their vessels in American ports. It cannot be doubted that a stipulation to that effect would be highly satisfactory as well as useful to Great Britain. This alone, it is presumed, will furnish a strong inducement to enter into a satisfactory arrangement on the subject of impressment. The claim is not inadmissible, especially as the United States have a reciprocal interest in the restoration of deserters from American vessels in British ports. An article such as has been heretofore authorized by the United States may be adopted, making it the duty of each party to

deliver them up. On the right of the United States to be exempted from the degrading practice of impressment, it is needless to add, the practice is utterly repugnant to the law of nations, supported by no treaty, nor acquiesced in by any nation. A submission to it by the United States would be the abandonment in favour of Great Britain of all claim to neutral rights, and of all other rights on the ocean. The practice is not founded on any belligerent right: the greatest extent to which the belligerent claim has been carried over the vessels of neutral nations, has been to board and take from them persons employed in the land and sea service of an enemy, goods contraband of war, and enemy's property. In all the discussions of questions on neutral rights, nothing of the British claim of impressment is found, no acknowledgment of it in any treaty, or submission to it by any power. This claim has for the first time been set up against the United States only. The claim is in fact traced to another source, the allegiance due by British subjects to their sovereign, and his right by virtue thereof to their service.

"Allegiance," the instructions proceed to remark, "is a political relation between the sovereign and his people, which binds the latter in return for the protection they receive. These reciprocal duties have the same limit; they are confined to the dominions of the sovereign, beyond which he has no rights, can afford no protection, and can of course claim no allegiance. A citizen or subject of one power entering the dominions of another, owes allegiance to the latter in return for the protection he receives. Whether the sovereign has a right to claim the service of such of his subjects as have left his own dominions, is a question respecting which a difference of opinion may exist. Certain it is that no sovereign has a right to pursue his subjects into the territory of another, be the object what it may. Such an entry, without the consent of the other power, would be a violation of its territory. That the vessels of a nation are considered as a part of the territory, with the exception of the belligerent right only, is a prin-

ciple too well established to be brought into discussion. Each has the exclusive jurisdiction over its own vessels. Its laws govern in them, and offences against their laws are punishable by its tribunals only. The flag of a nation protects every thing sailing under it in time of peace; and in time of war likewise with the exception of the belligerent right growing out of a state of war. An entry on board of the vessels of one power by the cruisers of another, in any other case, and the exercise of any other authority over them, is a violation of right, and an act of hostility.

The British government, aware of the correctness of this doctrine, now say, they do not contend that British cruisers have a right to pursue and search American vessels for their seamen. But having a right to search them for other objects, and being lawfully on board, and finding British seamen there, they have a right to impress, and bring them away under the claim of allegiance. When we see a systematic pursuit of American vessels by British cruisers, and the impressment of seamen from them, not at a port of the enemy where a regular blockade has been instituted, but on the ocean, on the American coast and harbours, it is difficult to believe that impressment is not the real motive, and the other only a pretext. The British government founds its right of impressment on that of allegiance, which is a permanent right equally applicable to peace and war; the right of impressment therefore, from vessels of other powers, must likewise be equally permanent; but it would not do to take this broad ground, lest the injustice and extravagance of the pretension should excite the astonishment and indignation of other powers, to whom it would be equally applicable. To claim it as a belligerent right would be equally extravagant and absurd, no trace of it being found in the belligerent code. The British government are therefore reduced to a very embarrassing dilemma: to acknowledge that they could not support the claim on either principle would be to give it up, and yet it could rely on neither. It therefore endeavoured to



draw some aid from both; and from two indefensible propositions to make out one that was tenable. A state of war exists which brings the parties together. Great Britain is a belligerent, and the United States are a neutral power. British officers have now a right to board and search American vessels, for persons in their enemy's service, goods contraband of war, and enemy's property. Allegiance, which is an attribute of sovereignty, now comes to her aid, and communicates all the necessary power; the complete right and sovereignty of the vessel, is now transferred to Great Britain. On this foundation the British government has raised the monstrous superstructure.

In further justification of the practice, the British ministry remark, that they exercise no right which they are not willing to accede to the United States. This semblance of equality disappears on a moment's examination. It is impossible for the United States to take advantage of it. Impressment is not an American practice, but utterly repugnant to her constitution and laws; in offering to reciprocate it, nothing was offered, as Great Britain well knew; a reciprocation of the practice would be no equivalent to the United States. The exercise of a right in common at sea by two nations, each over the vessels of the other; the one powerful, and the other comparatively weak, would be to place the latter completely at the mercy of the former. Great Britain, with her vast navy, would soon be the only power which made impressments. She has thirty ships of war to one of the United States, and would profit by the arrangement in that proportion. Besides impressment is a practice incident to war only, in which view, the inequality is not less glaring; she being at least thirty years at war to one of the United States.

Had Great Britain found the employment of her seamen in the American service injurious to her, and been disposed to respect the most sacred rights of the American nation, her regular and only legitimate course would have been in the first instance to have remonstrated to the American govern-

ment, and proposed a remedy. Had reasonable redress been refused, the British government would have had some plea for taking the remedy into their own hands. Such complaint was never made, except in defence of the practice of impressment, and in the mean time the usage had progressed; and with all its abuses, had resistance been longer delayed, might have become a law. The origin and progress of this usurpation afford strong illustrations of the British policy. The practice and the claim began together soon after the revolutionary war, and was applicable to deserters only: it next extended to all British seamen; then to all British subjects, as in the case of the emigrants from Ireland, who not being sea-faring men, would not have been subject to impressment in British ports; and finally it was extended to Swedes, Danes, and others known not to be British subjects, and by their protections appearing to be citizens of the United States.

The mediation offered by Russia, presents to Great Britain, as well as to the United States, a fair opportunity of accommodating this controversy with honour. The interposition of so distinguished a power, friendly to both parties, cannot on any just ground be declined by either, especially by Great Britain, between whom and Russia there exists a very interesting relation. Should Great Britain decline an accommodation upon the terms offered, her motive cannot be mistaken. The cause of the United States would in that case become the common cause of nations. They would all find in the conduct of Great Britain, an unequivocal determination to destroy the rights of other flags, and to usurp the absolute dominion of the ocean.

The adjustment of the controversy relating to impressment only, though very important, would leave much unfinished. Almost every neutral right has been violated, and its violation persisted in, until war was declared. A strong hope is entertained that the British commissioners will have full powers to adjust all these grounds of controversy in a satis-

factory manner. The violation of neutral rights by illegal blockades, carried to an enormous extent by the orders in council, was a principal cause of the war; these orders and blockades being now repealed, all that is expected, is, that the British government should unite in a more precise definition of blockade.

An interference with the American commerce between enemy's colonies, and the parent country, was among the violations of neutral rights committed by Great Britain in the present war with France. It took place in 1805, did extensive injury, and produced universal excitement. The capture by Great Britain of almost all the islands of her enemies, has very much diminished the importance of this subject; but as these may be restored by a treaty of peace, it merits particular attention. Unless a trade with them can be authorized to a proper extent, and without a relinquishment of the principle claimed by the United States, it will be best that the treaty should be silent upon the subject. The practice of Great Britain to interdict the passage of neutral vessels with their cargoes from one port to another of an enemy, is illegal and injurious to the commerce of neutral powers; still more unjustifiable is the attempt to interdict their passage from a port of one independent nation to that of another, on the pretence that they are both enemies." The envoys were instructed to obtain, if possible, security against the violation of these rights. They were authorized to conclude a peace, in case a satisfactory stipulation against impressment could be obtained, one which should secure, under the American flag, protection for the crew. If this encroachment is not provided against, the instructions observe, "the United States have appealed to arms in vain. If your efforts to accomplish it should fail, all further negotiation must cease, and you will return home without delay."\*

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\* Instructions to the American Envoys, April 15, 1813.

With these instructions the envoys sailed from the United States on the 16th of May, for Petersburg, to negotiate a peace with Great Britain, without knowing when, or whether ever, they should meet British commissioners on the subject.

*Mediation rejected by Great Britain.* The British cabinet took a very different course in relation to the mediation. They were well aware that their claims were of a nature not to be submitted to the arbitration or mediation of any third power. They were usurpations of neutral rights, to be maintained only by the overbearing power of her navy. They could have no expectation that these claims would be recognised by any sovereign as a part of the code of nations, to which his own subjects might in turn, be obliged to submit. Russia, in comparison with Great Britain, had always been much the weaker maritime power, seldom engaged in naval war, always an advocate for neutral rights, and opposed to British belligerent claims. The British cabinet had not forgotten that in the war of the American revolution, when Great Britain was engaged in a maritime war with France and Spain, Russia set on foot, and placed herself at the head of an armed neutrality, embracing Sweden and Denmark, in support of the same principles, impressment excepted, for which the United States were now contending. However intimate and friendly the relations between Great Britain and Russia might now be, it was little to be expected that the British cabinet would submit what they claimed to be their maritime rights to a power which had always opposed them.

On the first of September, 1813, the British ministry, after having held the proposition of Russia for a mediation under consideration for nearly a year, reciprocated the friendly professions of his imperial majesty, expressed their desire of peace, and duly appreciated the pure and friendly motives from which it proceeded: but remarked that their contest with America related to certain principles and rights of the British nation, which were not of



a nature to be submitted to any foreign power ; and though the Prince Regent, on this account, found himself in a situation not to accept the offered mediation, yet he was very desirous of giving effect, in a different mode, to the benevolent wishes which his imperial majesty had expressed of seeing the war terminated to the mutual satisfaction of both governments. That with this view having learned that the American envoys for negotiating a peace under the mediation of his imperial majesty had arrived in Russia, notwithstanding he finds himself under the necessity of not accepting the negotiation of any friendly power, in the question which forms the principal subject of dispute between the two states, yet he is ready to nominate plenipotentiaries, to treat directly with the American envoys, and his Royal Highness sincerely wishes, that these conferences might result in re-establishing between the two nations, the blessings and reciprocal advantages of peace. If, through the good offices of his imperial majesty, this proposition should be accepted, the Prince Regent is desirous that the conferences should be held at London ; but if this presents insuperable objections, Gottenburgh may be substituted.

The duties which the American government expected of his imperial majesty, in consequence of his mediation, were, to endeavour, by friendly conferences with both parties, to bring them to such concessions as should lead to peace ; that he should impartially hear the claims advanced on both sides, and determine on their justice, and endeavour to bring the party, whose claims in his opinion were not well founded, to relinquish them ; or, in case that could not be effected, to point out some middle course on which the parties might meet, and by all fair and honourable methods, to bring about a reconciliation : but as a mediator, he was not expected to guaranty or enforce his decisions. The parties would still be at liberty to reject them, and the only consequence would be, the party refusing to abide by the opinions of the mediator, would afterwards pursue the war, under the imputation of

being the aggressor. But even this was too much to be hazarded by the British cabinet.

*Proposition for a direct Negotiation.* On the 4th of November, Lord Castlereagh communicated to the American secretary of state a proposition from the British government for a direct negotiation at Gottenburgh.

*Accepted.* This proposition reached Washington on the 1st of January, 1814, and was promptly accepted. Messrs. Clay and Russell were added to the commissioners, and on the 28th of January received their instructions from the department of state, referring them to those of the 15th of the preceding April to the commissioners under the proposed Russian mediation, as the basis of their negotiations. On the subject of impressment, the secretary remarks, I have nothing to add; the sentiments of the President remain unchanged; this degrading practice must cease; the American flag must protect its crew, or the United States cannot consider themselves as an independent nation. In accepting the overture of the British government, to treat independently of the Russian mediation, the United States have acted on principles which have governed them in every transaction relating to peace since the war. Had the British government accepted of the mediation, the United States would have treated, for themselves, independently of any other power. In agreeing to treat directly with Great Britain, no concession is contemplated in any point in controversy. The same desire is cherished to preserve a good understanding with Russia and the other Baltic powers as if the negotiation had taken place under the proposed mediation.\*

With these instructions, Messrs. Clay and Russell sailed from the United States on the 25th February to join their colleagues. The American commissioners assembled at Gottenburgh in April 1814; and after waiting there a considerable time in expectation of meeting the British commissioners, they

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\* Instructions of the 28th January, 1814.

received a proposition from the British government to transfer the negotiations to Ghent. This was accepted, and the American commissioners thereupon immediately repaired to that city.

*Delays of the British.* As Great Britain was the proposer of this direct negotiation it was justly expected of her, that it should not on her account suffer any delay. But having kept the American government in suspense a year, on the subject of the Russian mediation; it was nine months after the proposition for a direct negotiation was made before the arrival of her commissioners at the place by her designated for the meeting. No satisfactory apology was given for this conduct; it is to be accounted for only by a reference to the political state of Europe. When the proposition was first made, Bonaparte, though his affairs were in the wane, was yet a formidable enemy to England, and all her exertions were still important in Europe. At the time the British commissioners were appointed, Bonaparte was subdued, peace had been established in Europe, and the choicest of the British forces had been selected and sent to America. This was deemed by her a favourable time to negotiate; not only to maintain and enforce all her maritime claims, but also to bring forward others of a new and inadmissible character. Her commissioners were instructed to give up none of her maritime claims, to accede to no agreement to compensate for past injuries; but to bring forward claims for cessions of territory, and other sacrifices to which none but a conquered country could submit. At length, on the 6th of August, 1814, the British commissioners, Admiral Lord Gambier, Henry Golburn, and William Adams, arrived at Ghent.

The political changes in Europe had produced an entirely different view on the subject of the negotiations in the American cabinet. All expectation of conquest on the Canadian frontier was at an end. The ability of their enemy to ravage and desolate the frontier and sea-board, was now alarmingly increased, and with their ability, their disposition to do it had been abundantly manifested. At the same time the difficul-

ties and embarrassments attending the raising and supporting a military force sufficient to meet those events were also increased. The state of the finances and the public credit had assumed a most unpromising aspect. If peace could be made upon the principle of restoring things to the state they were in before the war, there was no possible inducement to continue it. The subject of impressment had now ceased to be of any practical importance. Great Britain, having more seamen than she wanted on hand, had no inducement to increase their numbers from American vessels. It was not expected that she would now yield a point, for which she hazarded a war under the most unfavourable circumstances.

*New Instruction to the American Envoys.* In this view, the American cabinet, on the 25th of June, revised their instructions of the 15th of April, 1813, and 28th of January, 1814, and transmitted to their envoys others of a different character, and adapted to the crisis. They were instructed that in case no stipulation could be obtained, neither relinquishing the claim, or discontinuing the practice of impressment, they might concur in an article stipulating that this subject, together with the subject of trade and navigation generally, might be referred to a separate negotiation, to be undertaken without delay, and that in the mean time all rights should remain as they then were. The instructions remark that the United States having resisted by war the practice of impressment and continued the war until the practice had ceased by a peace in Europe, their object had been essentially obtained for the present, and it was hoped that the contemplated arrangement would take effect before a new war in Europe would furnish occasion for a renewal of the practice. Two days afterwards, in consequence of letters received from Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard, intimating that all expectation of obtaining any stipulation on the subject of impressment would be hopeless, the commissioners were informed that on mature consideration it had been decided, that under all the circumstances incident to a prosecution of the war,



they might omit any stipulation on the subject of impressment, if indispensably necessary to attain a peace. This expedient was not to be resorted to until every effort to terminate the controversy in a more satisfactory manner had failed.\*

On the 11th of August, the commissioners were further instructed that government would go no further, because it will make no sacrifice of the rights or honour of the nation. If Great Britain is not willing to terminate the war on these terms, it is because she has other objects in view, than those for which she has hitherto professed to contend. That there are such, there is much reason to apprehend. These, whatever they may be, must and will be resisted by the United States. The conflict may be severe, but it will be borne with firmness.†

The American commissioners, furnished with instructions so liberal, authorizing them to waive every point for which the war was commenced, it was hoped, would be able to bring the negotiation to a speedy conclusion. But the difficulties and delays experienced in the outset, were multiplied in its progress.

*First Conference.* On the 8th of August, the envoys of the two governments held their first conference, the object of which was merely to bring into view the subjects that were likely to present themselves for discussion in the course of the negotiation. On the part of the British, they stated,

1. The subject of impressment, and connected with it, that of natural allegiance.
2. A pacification with the Indian allies of Great Britain, and an establishment of a permanent Indian boundary.
3. A revision of the boundary line between the British and American territories.
4. The subject of the fisheries on the British North American coast.

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\* Instructions of the 25th and 27th of June.

† Instructions of the 11th of August.

The American commissioners stated, that on the first and third subjects proposed by the British, they were instructed to negotiate : on the second and fourth, the American government, not knowing that there was any controversy upon these subjects, had given them no instructions. As further subjects of discussion, they proposed a definition of blockade and other neutral and belligerent rights ; and claims of indemnity to individuals for illegal captures and seizures. Immediately after this interview, the British envoys despatched a courier to London, and no further proceedings were had until his return.

*Second Conference.—British sine qua non.* On the 19th of August, the British commissioners proposed another conference ; at which they stated as a preliminary, without which all further discussion would be useless : that the Indians must be included in the pacification, and a permanent boundary established for them, beyond which the United States should never purchase, settle, or occupy any territory. The region which should be included between the Indian boundary line, and the British possessions, to remain for ever uninhabited, except by Indians, and as a permanent barrier, between the British and American territories. The boundary proposed, subject however to some modifications, was the same as that of Wayne's treaty at Granville, in the year 1795, and would now include within the Indian lines, a territory as extensive as one quarter of the United States, and one hundred thousand white inhabitants.

*Other Claims.* This being agreed to, they would next proceed to discuss their other claims, the most prominent of which were, that the military occupation of the lakes from Ontario to Superior, both inclusive, should be held exclusively by the British, with a stipulation, that on the American lake shore, no military post should be erected within a specified distance.

A direct communication by land between Halifax and Quebec, to be secured to the British by a cession of that part of

the state of Massachusetts which intervenes; this they observed was now in their possession, and must be confirmed to them as the price of peace.

Moose and other islands in Passamaquoddy bay, which the United States have held since the peace of 1783, and which the British have taken this season, to be ceded to them as being within the new boundary.

The right of fishing on the British North American coast, and curing fish on the uninhabited islands and shores hitherto enjoyed by the Americans, to be given up.

*British Claims transmitted to America.* In this stage of the negotiation, the American commissioners ordered the John Adams to the United States, with their despatches, remarking, that the demands of Great Britain would receive from them a unanimous and decided negative; that there appeared not the least hope of peace, and that the negotiation would probably soon close.

These documents were received at Washington on the 10th of October, and immediately communicated to congress, together with the instructions given the commissioners. The disclosure produced but one sensation in the United States. All concurred in the opinion, that the American cabinet, in its instructions to the negotiators, had gone as far as the interest or honour of the United States would permit for the attainment of peace. They saw in them authority given the commissioners to pass over in silence every object for which the United States had engaged in war; the important subjects of impressment, illegal blockades, and compensation for illegal seizures were all waived, and peace sought without even a recognition on the part of Great Britain of any of the American claims. No citizen of the United States wished the government to make further concessions. When therefore they saw that it was demanded by the British commissioners as a preliminary to any further proceedings, a permanent, irrevocable cession of more than one quarter of the territory of the United States, to a few Indian tribes, whom the

British had associated with them in the war for the purpose of desolating the American frontier : when they saw the British seriously claim a cession of a considerable portion of Massachusetts, for the accommodation of an intercourse between their possessions, and the exclusive military occupation of the lakes with a prohibition of the Americans from establishing military posts on their own shores ; but one sentiment prevailed as to the propriety of rejecting the terms, and prosecuting the war with increased vigour. The administration had indeed to bear the most severe strictures of that portion of the American nation who were opposed to the war for bringing the country into so unhappy a situation. These censures however were retorted with equal severity upon the opposition, who, it was said, by their open and avowed disaffection to the government, the obstructions which they had thrown in the way of carrying on the war, the aids they had given the British, and the symptoms of revolt which they had manifested, had encouraged the enemy to to continue the war, and induced these extravagant demands. But for this opposition, they claimed, peace would long since have been obtained upon honourable terms. From these recriminations of the past, both parties united in the necessity of powerful exertions in future. The commissioners were now daily expected home, and congress were preparing the arrangements necessary to meet the crisis.

*Reply of the American Commissioners to the British Claims.*  
The negotiations however still continued. On the 24th of August, the American commissioners addressed a note to the British, stating that the claims advanced by them, were such as none but a conquered nation could accept, degrading, humiliating, and deeply injurious to America, and of no solid advantage to Great Britain. That the United States were not in a situation to submit to such degradation ; and even if a peace could be now obtained upon these terms, it would be of very short duration. They further represented, that a peace with the Indian tribes would necessarily result from a



peace with Great Britain. America had no interest or inclination to continue the war with the Indians. They would of course be restored to the same privileges as they enjoyed before the war; these enabled them to enjoy their own customs, regulate their concerns, and improve their lands in their own way, until they were willing and desirous of exchanging them with the United States for considerations to them of more value. The American commissioners further distinctly stated to the British, that the causes of the war having disappeared by the maritime pacification of Europe, the United States did not wish to continue it in defence of abstract principles, which for the present had ceased to have any practical effect, and that they were instructed to agree to its termination, both parties restoring whatever territory they had taken, and both retaining all their rights in relation to their respective seamen. This proposition by the American commissioners, to pass over in silence those subjects and leave them as they were at the commencement of the war, was transmitted by the British commissioners to their government, and in the meantime the correspondence between the commissioners continued: the British claiming that it was perfectly obvious, that the conquest of Canada and its permanent annexation to the United States was the declared object of the American government; that if in consequence of a different course of events on the continent of Europe, the United States had obtained a decided superiority in that quarter, they would have availed themselves of their situation, to obtain on the side of Canada important cessions of territory or the entire abandonment of that country by Great Britain.

On the other hand the American commissioners contended that no such views were entertained by the United States. They had always been ready and desirous of peace, upon an adjustment of their maritime claims, each nation retaining its territory as it existed before the war. That no views of aggrandizement or desire of adding to their territory was justly imputable to them.

*British Commissioners receive additional Instructions.* The British ministry, perceiving that the American government had consented to waive all discussion of their maritime claims, and that no cession of territory could be obtained, gave additional instructions to their commissioners, authorizing them to waive the subject of a permanent Indian boundary, and their claims respecting the military occupation of the lakes. In pursuance of these instructions, on the 8th of October, the British addressed a note to the American envoys, proposing on the subject of an Indian pacification, that each party should stipulate, that immediately after the conclusion of peace, hostilities should cease between them and the Indian nations with whom they might be at war, and the Indians restored to all the possessions, rights, and privileges which they enjoyed before the war, provided the Indian nations should on their part cease from hostilities. To this arrangement the American commissioners had no objections; though a stipulation of this nature was not expressly within their instructions, they agreed to it provisionally.

*Their Ultimatum waived.* This point being adjusted, and the American maritime claims waived, the negotiation proceeded with some prospect of a favourable issue. The British commissioners claimed that they should proceed upon the basis of each party's retaining the possessions they had acquired at the commencement of the negotiation, subject to such modifications as mutual convenience might suggest. This principle would give to the British a considerable portion of the province of Maine, fort Niagara and a part of the Niagara frontier, and to the Americans, Amherstburgh, and the adjacent territory. The American envoys claimed, that these possessions occasionally obtained by either party from the other in the course of the war, should be mutually restored, and each party placed on the footing they stood at its commencement.

*Peace concluded.* After a variety of negotiations on these topics from the 8th of October to the 24th of December, a definitive treaty of peace was agreed upon, in which all mari-

time claims were passed over in silence, and the relations of peace and amity between the two nations, and between them and the Indians within their limits, they agreeing to it, were restored. Claims for past injuries were waived, and each party placed upon the ground they were before the war; provision was made for the survey and demarkation of the boundary line between the United States and the British possessions, and for the adjustment of all difficulties upon that subject, on terms of reciprocity. The subject of fisheries upon the British North American coast, as secured to the United States by the treaty of 1783, was waived, and the privilege of fishing and curing fish on these coasts not being provided for in this treaty, was considered as given up. The treaty was ratified by the Prince Regent on the 27th of December, arrived in the United States on the 11th, and was ratified by the President and senate on the 17th of February. Orders were immediately despatched in every direction for the cessation of hostilities.

*Orders transmitted to General Jackson miscarry.* The postmaster general, despatched a special messenger to General Jackson at New-Orleans with the treaty, giving orders for the postmasters, and mail carriers on the route, to furnish relays, and forward by every means in their power, the intelligence. By some accident on the route, the messenger in his haste exchanged his despatches for some old military orders, and when he came to deliver his papers to General Jackson, instead of the official information of the ratification of the treaty, the papers produced, were the old military orders. During the interval between the first unofficial intelligence of peace, and the official information of the ratification of the treaty, the soldiers of the army and the citizens of New-Orleans grew impatient of military restraint. The militia were clamorous for their discharge, and a spirit of insubordination prevailed.

*Martial Law at New-Orleans continued.* The General deemed it necessary as long as there was any enemy in the neighbourhood, and he without official information of the

ratification of the treaty, to preserve military order, and not relax in his system of defence.

*Lauvallier arrested.* The French consul had given certificates of French citizenship to numbers of persons in the militia, the object of which was to exempt them from military services. General Jackson, considering these persons dangerous to the safety of the city, ordered them to remove into the interior, as far as Baton Rouge. Lauvallier, a Frenchman, and member of the Louisiana Legislature, had published several pieces in the New-Orleans papers, condemning the measures of General Jackson for the defence of the city, as illegal, and advising the citizens that they were not bound to obey them. He was also suspected of holding intercourse with the enemy. General Jackson, by virtue of the powers which he claimed in consequence of his proclamation of martial law, ordered this Frenchman to be arrested, and tried by a court martial.

*Habeas Corpus disobeyed.* On the 6th of March, Lauvallier applied to Dominic Hall, judge of the United States district court, for a writ of habeas corpus, to transfer him from a military to a civil tribunal; this was granted, and delivered to the marshal to be served upon the General, who considering the suspension of the civil authority as a necessary consequence of the proclamation of martial law, refused obedience to the writ, dismissed the marshal, retained the prisoner, and subjected him to trial. He also arrested and imprisoned Judge Hall for issuing the writ. The district attorney then applied to judge Lewis for a habeas corpus in favour of judge Hall. He also was arrested under martial law, and an order was issued for the arrest of judge Lewis.

*Martial Law discontinued.* On the 16th of March, official intelligence of the peace having arrived, martial law ceased, and the civil authorities were discharged from arrest.

*General Jackson arrested for contempt, tried before the District Court, and convicted.* On the 27th, General Jackson was arrested and brought before the United States district court, holden by judge Hall, to answer to an alleged contempt



of that court in disobeying the writ of habeas corpus in the case of Lauvallier, and imprisoning the judge who granted the process.

The general alleged, in his defence, the necessary existence of martial law within the city and precincts of New-Orleans at the time of issuing the writ of habeas corpus ; so great was the danger, that the judge himself had been induced expressly to sanction martial law, abandon his civil functions, leave the city, and retire to a place of safety in the interior. The suspension of civil process was the necessary consequence of the state of the city, and of the proclamation of martial law. The general also claimed the right of trial by jury, as secured to him by the constitution of the United States : but he was now upon trial before a judge, for a contempt of his authority, and the imprisonment of his person. His claim and plea were over-ruled, and the general fined a thousand dollars for the contempt. He was accompanied to the court by a numerous crowd of citizens, who considered him as their deliverer. The appearance of the scene was more like a military parade than a court of justice. On the sentence being pronounced, he was borne from the court-house by the citizens, placed in a coach, and drawn by them to his lodgings, where a subscription was immediately opened, restricted to a dollar a man, to give all an opportunity to subscribe, to pay his fine and costs, which were immediately discharged.

*Rejoicings in the United States.* All parties in the United States sincerely rejoiced at the news of peace. The expressions of joy were the more lively as the event was altogether unexpected. Though intelligence had been received after the British ultimatum of the 19th of August, that the negotiations were continued, yet it was of such a character as to forbid any well-grounded expectations of a favourable result. The American commissioners, on the 25th of October, which was the last intelligence received from them previous to the arrival of the treaty, wrote that although the negotiations had not terminated as abruptly as at the date of their last despatches was expected, yet they find no reason to retract the opinion

therein expressed, that no hopes of peace, as likely to result from it, could be entertained. Without stopping critically to inquire whether the treaty secured to them the objects for which the war was commenced, the people of the United States of all parties, republicans and federalists, the friends of the administration and the opposition, the war and the peace party, united in celebrating the event. Party names and distinctions were for a moment forgotten; illuminations, festivals, and rejoicings in various forms, were had in almost every city, town, and village in the United States.

*President's Message to Congress on the Peace.* In communicating this event to Congress, the President congratulates them and their constituents upon an event which is highly honourable to the nation, and which terminates with peculiar felicity a campaign signalized by the most brilliant successes. "The late war," he remarks, "although reluctantly declared by congress, had become necessary to assert the rights and independence of the nation. It had been waged with success, the natural result of the legislative councils, of the patriotism of the people, of the public spirit of the militia, and of the valour of the military and naval force of the country. Peace, at all times a blessing, is peculiarly welcome at a period when the causes of the war had ceased to operate, when the government had demonstrated the efficiency of its powers of defence, and when the nation can review its conduct without regret or reproach."

The President recommends to the care and beneficence of congress the gallant men whose achievements in every department have contributed to the honour of the American name. In recommending a reduction of the public expenditures to the demands of a peace establishment, he observes, "that important considerations forbid a sudden and general revocation of the measures produced by the war. Experience has taught us that neither the pacific dispositions of the American people, nor the pacific character of our political institutions, altogether exempt them from the strife which appears to be incident to this period of the world. The same faithful monitor instructs us that a certain degree of preparation for war is in-

dispensable to prevent disaster in the outset; and also affords the best security for the continuance of peace. He concludes with fervently wishing, that the peace which has now been declared, may be the foundation of the most friendly intercourse between the United States and Great Britain, and productive of harmony and happiness to our beloved country.

*Peace Establishment.* The period for which the 13th Congress was elected expired on the 3d of March 1815, and left but fourteen days from the ratification of the treaty to continue the session. This time was busily employed in adapting their arrangements to a state of peace; little more however could be done than to provide for the reduction of the army, and suspend ship building on the lakes. The military peace establishment, after much controversy between the houses, the senate putting it at fifteen, and the house of representatives at six, was finally fixed at ten thousand.

The public debt at the close of the war con-

sisted of the debt of the revolution . . .	\$39,000,000
The present war debt . . . . .	85,000,000
	<hr/>
	\$123,000,000

The navy consisted of five seventy-fours, not completed; six forty-four gun frigates; nine from thirty-six to twenty-four; twenty-two from twenty to sixteen, and fifty eight smaller vessels: the whole carrying two thousand guns.\*

*Beneficial results of the War.* Although the United States concluded a treaty without an express recognition of their maritime rights; yet the war, taken in connexion with all its

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\* Report of secretary of navy, December 1815.

On the first of January, 1825, the navy consisted of eleven ships of the line of seventy-four guns, twelve frigates from thirty-two to forty-four guns, the steam frigate Fulton of thirty-six guns, and a considerable number of ships of war of the smaller class. The national debt at the same period, amounted to \$86,000,000. The receipts at the treasury during the preceding year were \$19,630,893.96, being something more than one-fifth of the whole debt.

circumstances and consequences, has secured them from future violation. It has fully established the character of the United States, for enterprise, skill, and bravery. After a thirty years peace, a war of two years drew forth an army able to contend on equal terms with European veterans; and produced ships of war which never shunned a combat, or failed of success, when an enemy was to be met on equal ground. The enterprise and success of American privateers against British commerce, rendered the war an unpopular and unprofitable business to the British nation. These cruisers, taking stations in the track of their commerce, on their coasts, and at the entrance of their harbours, brought the war home to the British merchant; and in the loss of his ships, and in the increased rate of insurance, made its effects severely felt. The war has pointed out to the American nation, by a series of facts too plain to be misapprehended, the proper means both of annoyance and defence. The ravages to which the coast was subject, in the years 1813 and 14, clearly demonstrated the necessity of a naval force sufficient for its protection, and as clearly pointed to the species of force best adapted to that object. Experience, a convincing, though many times an expensive teacher, annihilated the gun-boat system, and induced the building of ships of the line and frigates of the larger class to such an extent as will effectually protect the coast, from any fleet which a European nation will venture to spare from her own shores to invade the American. It likewise induced the building a steam ship of war of a large size, and although the intervention of peace prevented its efficacy from being tested by experiment, yet there is little doubt of its being a powerful engine of harbour defence. The enlargement, and completion of the fortifications of the principal ports, and supplying them and the arsenals with the munitions of war, constitute another important result. These effects of the war more completely secure American rights from future violation, than the strongest treaty stipulations without them. European nations now see that America has both the spirit and the means of defence, and her government the ability to call them into action. The United States have now nothing to



fear from invasion ; possessed within themselves of every material requisite for a navy to any desirable extent, and a superior body of seamen, they are abundantly able to defend their rights on the ocean. Though they may probably never find it necessary to create a navy of equal magnitude with the British, which can only be useful for the purposes of conquest, they will always have it in their power to call into operation one sufficient for all the purposes of defence. Possessed of fifty ships of war, by a gradual accumulation of the imperishable materials, a navy can at any time be produced, which will cause their rights to be respected. British maritime rights, which in modern language have been construed to mean the right of controlling the navigation of the world, must now be confined within their legitimate bounds. America is in a situation never again to submit to have her trade destroyed, or her coasts ravaged with impunity.

The severe chastisement which the Indians of the west, and south, who were induced to join the British standard, have suffered, has rendered the frontier secure from future ravages. The effects of the war will extend much beyond the tribes who have suffered ; there is now very little danger of any Indian nation ever so remote, who has heard of the names and deeds of Jackson and Harrison, being seduced into hostilities against the United States, either by their own religious fanatics or foreign influence. Peace with them may be considered as more firmly established, and the frontiers more secure than at any former period. These are some of the beneficial results of the war ; in them every American has a deep interest. They have happily served to wear off the asperities, and reconcile the conflicting interests and opinions, which attended its commencement and progress. Party spirit is fast subsiding, and though at times it is attempted to be resuscitated, yet it must soon resolve itself into a united effort, to promote the happiness of a great and growing nation.











